

Metro-rurality, social distinction & ideal reflexive individuality: Martinborough's Wine Tourists

Peter J. Howland

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Abstract

Martinborough, a small rural settlement renowned for its Pinot Noir wines, is a popular holiday destination for many of the new middle class resident in nearby Wellington, New Zealand's capital city. Attracted by the prospect of a rural idyll experience and conspicuous opportunities for urbane consumption, Martinborough's wine tourists also typically desired highly idealised and personalised holiday experiences. My thesis therefore examines the tourists' performative displays and public narratives of social distinction and ideal reflexive individuality. I explore the collusive framing of Martinborough as a metro-rural idyll dedicated to urbane and leisured consumption, and how within this performative setting tourists attempted to reconcile their middle class distinction (general and hierarchical) with their simultaneous pursuit of a reflexive praiseworthy self (Howland 2004). My analysis arises from participant-observation fieldwork, interviews, and surveys in a number of public tourism and wine contexts in Martinborough and elsewhere.

Social distinction is marked by the competitive struggle for, and deployment of, various capitals by individuals and groups (Bourdieu 1984). Bourdieu (1984, 2002) contends that within habitus various subconscious, durable, and transposable dispositions are generated. I argue that reflexive individuality is a pervasive habitus, especially for Martinborough's middle class tourists, and that this "reflexive habitus" (Sweetman 2003: 537) generates ideal dispositions, which are mediated through other habitus (e.g. occupational, ethnic etc), and which individuals variously enact, aspire to, narrate, or performatively display. These ideals include autonomy in thought and action, and dedication to self-improvement.

In post-industrial societies reflexive individuality is an influential dynamic in social connectedness, occupational pathways, political movements, consumption, and in the individualised assembly of intersubjectivities (Beck 2002; Giddens 1991). The tourists' desire for ideal reflexive individuality is, however, routinely frustrated within their everyday domestic, occupational and consumerist experiences. The stratification mechanisms of social distinction also clearly possess the capacity to disrupt or invalidate the praiseworthy self. Individuals are thus drawn to fields of action where they perceive the greatest opportunities for personal autonomy and choice. For

Martinborough's tourists this included various urbane and leisured consumption activities, their reflexive sociality, and the articulation of autobiographical narratives that affirmed personal tastes and individual orientations toward social distinction.

Martinborough's tourists reproduced a mythology of an enduring vernacular rural idyll. This rural idyll provided the moral foundation for an equally romanticised metro-rural idyll which, in conjunction with the tourists similarly idealised notions of 'the French tradition' of fine wine, provided a corroborating setting for their leisured consumption of urbane commodities that performatively affirmed their middle class distinction. The tourists' pursuit of social distinction was also significantly enhanced by the democratisation of the cultural capital of wine connoisseurship, the tiered production of wine, and by the provision of conspicuous opportunities to engage in singular, episodic, and performative wine consumption.

The metro-rural idyll, in combination with a pervasive New World wine ethos that promoted personalised innovation and experimentation, also provided a validating locale for the tourists' pursuit of ideal reflexive individuality. Accordingly tourists' personal wine choices were conspicuously celebrated and many aspects of wine production, producers, purchasing, and consumption were reflexively biographised. The tourists' displays of reflexive sociality and their reflexive distinction narratives were also important components in their performative assertions of ideal reflexive individuality.

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Chapter One:

Introduction

Middle class distinction and ideal reflexive individuality

At some point during my fieldwork on a Martinborough vineyard I found myself standing gingerly on the back of a tractor, propelling my body up and down in an attempt to assist a frighteningly twisting posthole borer to grip in the stony soil. As I clung desperately to the tractor and gloomily wondered whether there were processes for the posthumous submission of an incomplete PhD, the Martinborough winemaker I was working alongside told me for the fourth or fifth time that what he really enjoyed about the wine industry was that it attracted so many '*different people*'¹. He especially liked the '*fact*' that these individuals came from '*very different backgrounds*' (i.e. occupations, countries, life experiences) and all had different perspectives on wine (i.e. preferred production techniques, personal tastes).

Previously I had dismissively thought his assertions were hegemonic utterances, subconsciously deployed to justify that the overwhelming majority of Martinborough's wine tourists² were '*middle class*', European (see Appendix A: Tables 3-6), who appeared especially motivated to consume Martinborough wines for the social distinction that appreciatively quaffing a bottle of top-quality, expensive wine endorsed and for the pleasures of the wine's intoxicating effects.

Accordingly my research was attuned to a Bourdieuan (1984) analysis of the tourists' performative wine consumption and to the associated displays, negotiations, and evaluations of middle class distinction. However, my attempts to correlate different wine dispositions (e.g. bona-fide wine connoisseurship contrasted with moneyed

¹ Singular quotation marks and italics are used to identify verbal comments made by subjects, the majority of which were recorded in note fashion during interviews or post-utterance during participant-observation fieldwork. Given my note-taking skills, and the inevitable distortion of recent memory recollections, the quotes are not necessarily verbatim, although they are in all instances faithful reproductions.

² Wine tourism can be defined as "visitation to vineyards, wineries, wine festivals and wine shows for which grape wine tasting and/or experiencing the attributes of a grape wine region are the prime motivating factors of visitors" (Hall et al 2000: 2). Johnson (in Hall et al 2000) notes that such definitions are too restrictive in terms of motivating factors and accordingly that rural scenery, open space, and social companionship may equally be desirable, as was the case amongst many of the wine tourists I encountered in Martinborough.

accrue) with variances in individuals' family, education, and occupational backgrounds were frustratingly unsuccessful (see Chapter 8). I was also aware that the social distinction ascribed to fine wine consumption was routinely counterbalanced by mechanisms that asserted the validity of the tourists' personal tastes and other individualised practices, whatever their comparative social status or rank.

Purposefully distinctive tourists

Many tourists³ were sensitively attuned toward the conspicuous expressions of social distinction, both in terms of signifying general middle class status and of negotiating intra-class rankings. The leisured, urbane and performative consumption of a Martinborough holiday and *good wine* were typically interpreted as substantive displays of "distance from necessity" (Bourdieu 1984: 56), and thus as characteristically middle class activities. Elevated social status was also frequently associated with the leisured consumption of expensive motor vehicles, designer clothing and luxurious accommodation, and was also ascribed to wine connoisseurship.^{4/5}

Social distinction with respect to wine consumption was constructed via the differential deployment of three principal capitals (Bourdieu 1984). Firstly, individuals with the economic capital to purchase expensive, top-quality wines were accorded high status, more so if they were perceived to do this on a regular basis.

³ References to "most", "many", "some" etc tourists refer to those I interviewed, surveyed and/or encountered during my fieldwork in Martinborough and Wellington.

⁴ The association of wine connoisseurship with '*middle class*' status had wider social currency. For example, on several occasions when working in the vineyard wine shop I encountered young professionals (e.g. lawyers) taking notes as I discussed the various taste characteristics and wine consumption protocols (e.g. optimal wine temperatures etc). In response to my questions these young professionals confirmed they were intentionally collecting wine knowledge and experiences to enable them to competently interact with their professional superiors in a variety of social situations (e.g. dinner parties). In other words they were calculatedly acquiring the cultural, symbolic and social capitals of wine that are routinely aligned with their occupational and economic status (Bourdieu 1984).

⁵ Whenever a noted wine connoisseur, or any form of important person (e.g. high ranking politician, renowned sportsperson or celebrated artist), visited the vineyard where I conducted fieldwork, they were feted (i.e. given exclusive vineyard tours, catered lunches, gifts of wine) by the vineyard owners in ways that far exceeded the hospitality that the average tourist received in the wine shop. Or as one of the disgruntled vineyard workers noted: '*You certainly know when a VIP is on the vineyard, we all become lackeys*'. What the vineyard worker was referring to was that whenever a VIP was being hosted by the vineyard owners, their usual experience of working alongside the owners in ways that emphasised equality of task sharing and associated forms of mateship were temporarily suspended. Instead these were replaced by overt practices of hierarchy and command that conversely emphasised the social distance between employers and employees.

Second, individuals who demonstrated connoisseur-like appreciation (i.e. cultural capital) were accorded even greater status. Lastly, high status was also attributed to those who formed personal or close relationships (i.e. social capital) with renowned Martinborough winemakers. Socially acknowledged possession of all three capitals resulted in ascription of the highest status.

Economic, social, and cultural capitals are not necessarily co-dependent (Bourdieu 1984). However, the variation in capital-linkage I encountered was not necessarily explained by the construction of typologies of wine tourists (e.g. Cambourne and Macionis 2000⁶), which tend to focus on how various categories of consumers, defined by income, occupation and social connectedness (e.g. single, retired empty nesters etc), respond to marketing campaigns and how this is reflected in their purchase motivations and practices. Thus the connoisseur-like consumption of top-quality, usually expensive, wines was pursued by individuals from very different family, educational, occupational, and economic backgrounds.

Nevertheless, the appearance of a particularly expensive, top-quality wine at Martinborough restaurant; Platinum American Express⁷; an expensive European car (e.g. Ferrari); designer clothing/ accessories (e.g. Zambesi, Karen Walker, Gucci etc); local or international celebrities – ranging from wealthy New Zealand financiers such as Michael Fay, who's merchant bank Fay Richwhite underwrote New Zealand's first America's Cup campaign in 1987, through to Hollywood movie stars such as Oscar winner, Adrien Brody; or the consumption of expensive holiday accommodation (e.g. Martinborough Hotel), often elicited spontaneous and adulatory comments from tourists and retailers alike.

⁶ Cambourne & Macionis (2000) state they have adapted Roy Morgan's (1996) classification of tourists to produce 10 categories of Australian wine tourists. These include those in the "Conventional Family Life" who are described as **"Middle Australia; people whose life is centred around family...small savers; around 38 years of age, on average incomes...respond to familiar and conventional advertising, which emphasizes product benefit, influenced by pre-existing attitudes to brand"** (2000: 90 – emphasis in original) and who apparently account for 11% of the population or "Value Segment" (2000: 90). The categories range through to "Basic Need" wine tourists who are apparently **"Older retired workers and widows living (often alone) on a pension: very traditional views with a strong Christian ethic; follow a survival lifestyle"** (2000: 91 – emphasis in original), who account for just 4.1% of the value segment.

⁷ In my research I did not find any retailer or tourist who had encountered a fabled Black American Express card, which apparently are given to the 'super-rich' by invitation only and have no spending limits (www.time.com/time/asia/asiabuzz, 01 December, 2001)

Many tourists were thus sensitive to the nuanced deployment of social, cultural, and economic capitals and to the production of intra-class hierarchies. For example, attendees at public wine tastings were often conscious of individual variations in wine knowledge and experience. Novice wine drinkers were frequently in awe, and deferred to the opinions, of host winemakers and attendant wine connoisseurs: *'Some of these guys (sic) have amazing palates and just know so much about wine. I feel a little out my depth here'* (tourist, male, mid-30s). Often tourists' attributed superior status to the *'French tradition'* of fine wine production and consumption. Thus individuals with experience of high-quality French wines – such as winemakers who had undertaken vintages on renowned French vineyards or who utilised French winemaking practices; or consumers who purchased top quality French wines and visited French vineyards – were accorded high status by tourists, although many had little or no knowledge of what constituted the best French wines or vineyards. Many believed (often without comparative tasting experience) that the top Martinborough wines, together with other high-quality New Zealand wines, incorporated the best of French and New World⁸ wine-making techniques and thus rivalled, if not surpassed, the best French wines.

Many tourists were also aware that higher status was also reflected in individuals' inclusion in socially exclusive events. For example, a number of aspirational wine drinkers told me that they greatly desired, but had little hope of receiving, invitations to exclusive wine tastings, such as vertical vintage or comparative tastings, characteristically hosted annually by vineyards. Invitations to such events were typically reserved to knowledgeable and respected members of the wine industry such as critics, judges, winemakers and renowned restaurateurs. Many also expressed the desire to attend, and dissatisfaction from being excluded from, public and paid-entry events such as the annual Toast Martinborough Wine & Food Festival.⁹ Tickets to the festival are restricted to 10,000, with the majority (approximately 6,000) given to corporate sponsors, tourism and hospitality representatives, and other similarly 'influential' persons (person. comm.). Thus the public is forced to compete for the

⁸ New World wines typically refers to those produced outside of Europe and especially in places such as New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, North and South America (Johnson 1998; Robinson 1999).

⁹ Toast Martinborough is an annual wine and food festival held in November since 1992. Participating vineyards team-up with restaurants and musicians to provide on-site wine, food and entertainment for the day-long festival, which currently attracts about 10,000 visitors.

remaining tickets, which often sell out within 30-40 minutes of going on sale (Wairarapa Times-Age 1999, October 5: 1). I have an uncle, who due to his membership on several prominent corporate boards, received 6-12 free tickets each year, and another uncle, a middle class corporate employee, who complained bitterly that he was unable to acquire tickets for six consecutive years despite trying all avenues of purchase (e.g. telephone, online, and queuing at the ticket office).

There was, however, an important caveat to the tourists' assessments of conspicuous displays of distinction; if any individual was perceived to be overtly asserting their social superiority, they were typically castigated (either publicly or in private conversations) for being '*pretentious*' or a '*try-hard*.' It was also widely understood that being middle class did not necessarily prohibit individuals from stereotypical '*working class*' pursuits such as beer consumption or attending a rugby match. Thus, being '*middle class*' did not necessarily require the pursuit of restrictive practices as detailed amongst the French in Bourdieu's seminal work on social distinction (1984) – although an individual's failure to appreciatively engage or somehow misconstrue a distinctive middle class activity was typically evaluated as resulting from a deficit of necessary cultural, social or economic capitals.

This may reflect a particularly enduring New Zealand ethos in which social stratifications are simultaneously constructed and denied in deference to commonly held, yet mythical, notions of egalitarianism (Belich 1996; Roper 2005). However, such utterances complimented the tourists' varied responses to social distinction, which ranged from the indifferent to the derisive, aspirational and adulatory. These varied narratives of reflexive distinction, together with performances of leisured, urbane consumption, functioned to assert a unique, coherent, autonomous and praiseworthy self (Howland 2004: 113) and thus maintain the tourists' notions of ideal reflexive individuality.

I also overheard significant numbers of tourists in public arenas (e.g. caf  s, retail shops etc) discussing '*hard times*' with their travelling companions. Such discussion frequently centred on previous financial hardships, for example loss of shareholding wealth, domestic properties or occupational income in the New Zealand stock-market crash in 1987; employment redundancies; or due to downturns in various employment

sectors (e.g. loss of civil service jobs with changes in Government). Typically these narratives were phrased in terms of triumph over adversity or conversely via anxious disquiet concerning the impact of previous troubles on current or anticipated states of individual wellbeing. Other '*hard times*' discussions typically involved discussion about the '*high cost*' of housing purchases, renovations and private education for children. Many tourists were thus accustomed to the nexus of middle class distinction, comparative rankings and intra-class hierarchies, and to the potentialities of social upclassing or downclassing.

Intentionally reflexive tourists

Tourists also uttered narratives and enacted performances that highlighted their sense of ideal reflexive individuality, in which the social expression and affirmation of personal tastes in wine was particularly significant.

During my fieldwork in a vineyard wine shop I noted that customers were consistently encouraged by cellar assistants to express their personal wine tastes. This was done, in part, to assess customers' previous wine experiences and preferences so that the appropriate '*pitch*' could be made to a potential customer. The personal tastes and wine assessments of tourists were never publicly contested or contradicted¹⁰ by cellar assistants. This reproduced the '*customer is always right*' convention of retail trade, which attempts to ensure maximal customer satisfaction and expenditure. However, it also reflected a broader ethos in which tourists were encouraged to consciously articulate personal tastes and in the process produce narratives of ideal reflexive individuality (Beck 2002; Giddens 1991; McNay 2000). Although individuals' tastes were sometimes publicly contested by other tourists who expressed divergent assessments, such assertions of personal tastes appeared to function as an unassailable default position that celebrated a distinct and autonomous self. The capacity to articulate one's tastes and reflexively ruminate upon one's experiences was highly valued by many tourists, who routinely encouraged others to similarly express themselves. Thus an expressed preference for fruit wine or beer, or even to disliking

¹⁰In private conversations amongst themselves, cellar assistants and others involved in the wine industry in Martinborough did critique and sometimes deride the wine tastes of tourists. Moreover, in some settings, such as wine tastings or in discussions amongst winemakers, the evaluation of wines and the personal tastes of others could be very robust. However, the closest that wine shop hosts came to publicly contradicting a tourist was to simply (re)assert their own assessment, often with a qualifier such as '*of course, taste is a very personal thing*' and/or by simply nodding empathetically and saying '*oh yes*'.

wine, while sometimes met with opposition by other tourists, never led to significant social censure, schism or expulsion from conspicuous Martinborough tourism or Wellington social (e.g. dinner party) contexts. Milder forms of variance in reflexive consumption, such as individually desiring a specific wine through to drinking white wine with ice cubes on hot summer days, were positively encouraged by a variety of structures that consistently sought (via tiered wine-production, accessible tasting notes etc) to democratise wine purchase and consumption. Thus individuals, at least in public and consumer-orientated forums, were morally legitimated to construct narratives of reflexive distinction that simultaneously asserted their personal tastes, social distinction orientations and praiseworthy notions of their ideal reflexive individuality.

This reflexive orientation was also present in the tourists' other narratives. In conversations with travelling companions, many tourists persistently emphasised their reflexive individuality as they prefixed or qualified statements with utterances such as '*I think...*', '*I said to...*', '*I feel...*', '*I love...*', '*I hate...*'. When discussing their membership in corporate social groups (e.g. families, sports clubs, or occupational institutions) they also typically highlighted their personal contributions (material, effective etc) and roles. For example, discussions about decisions within a family, such as where to holiday or what school to send the children to, would be typically premised by individuals with statements such as '*I thought we should...*' or '*We agreed to...*'. The articulation of the reflexive 'I' in conjunction with the more socially inclusive 'we' clearly denotes (either directly or by inference) an awareness of collusive reflexive (inter)subjectivity.¹¹

¹¹ I make a distinction between intersubjectivity and (inter)subjectivity. The former equates with, and highlights, the construction of collective or widely-held identities (i.e. male, female, New Zealander etc), while the latter focuses attention on the processes that singular individual's engage in constructing their own intersubjective notions of self.

The tourists' reflexivity was not however "radical" or "pure" (Argyrou 2003: 28)¹² in the terms of narcissistically regarding oneself to be the architect of one's reality. Rather self reflexivity was enacted in fields of action where tourists characteristically perceived the opportunity to experience optimal agency or individual choice, typically within a dialogic nexus of personalised wine consumption, the reflexive sociality of travelling companions, and in the leisured metro-rural idyll (i.e. an idealised rural locale in which urbane leisure and consumption paradigms are dominant) of a Martinborough holiday. Thus many tourists were conscious of both enacting personal choices and their differential deployment of middle class capitals, but they were not critically reflective of the sociological construction of reflexive individuality, fields of action or of social distinction per se.

Nevertheless, many responded differently to the stratification mechanisms and associated hierarchisation of middle class distinction. Their responses ranged from expressions of achieved elite status (e.g. wine connoisseurship) to the aspirational, emulative or dismissive. Some lamented their lack of success in social status endeavours, usually citing structural impediments (e.g. the economic constraints of '*raising a family*' etc). Others expressed a lack of interest in, or rejected the saliency of, social distinction rankings. This was evident in individuals' who expressed the belief that wine connoisseurship was '*pretentious posing*'. Often such assertions were accompanied by '*I know what I like*' narratives of wine consumption and self-justification. A few asserted that they were not personally aspirational of higher status, but rather were happy with their lot. Thus tourists articulated a variety of distinction narratives that simultaneously acknowledged/ constructed the mechanisms of status stratification, yet asserted a coherent and praiseworthy self irrespective of their comparative social rankings. Whether these narratives of reflexive distinction were

¹² Argyrou's (2003) critique of the 'reflexive modernity' of Giddens (1990) and Beck (2002), and especially the "radical questioning and doubt" (2003: 28) of the "modern as pure reflexivity" (2003: 28), is overwrought and appears to be principally driven by his criticism that Beck et al privileges the modern via a dialogic and mythical construction of a traditional, non-reflexive Other (see also Alexander 1996). A more constructive reading of Beck et al postulates a continuum of reflexive subjectivity, from a awareness of a distinctive self in comparison to others through to the active (inter)subjective assembly and positioning of the self (via narrative, action and/or interaction) and onwards to the extreme reflexivity that potentially exists in the radical, systematic critique of all knowledge, experience etc that represents an ideal of the Enlightenment and is at times found in post-structuralism. Undoubtedly the uncritical, often glib construction of the 'non-modern, tradition-bound Other' is a characteristic flaw of many sociologists. It does not, however, undermine the fundamental point of Beck (2002) that individualism is persistently institutionalised in late modernity and consequentially that reflexive (inter)subjectivity increasingly adopts the appearance of the dominant social order.

‘face-saving’ techniques was impossible for me to ascertain. However their prevalence, in combination with the social endorsement of personal choices and tastes, prompted me to examine how the tourists’ narrative and performative enactment of Martinborough as a metro-rural idyll and as site of New World wine production/consumption provided a corroborative setting that simultaneously reproduced, affirmed, and facilitated their middle class distinction, intra-class hierarchisation, and ideal reflexive individuality.

New middle class in Martinborough and New Zealand

The majority of Martinborough’s tourists were affluent, tertiary educated, professionals, New Zealand European/Pakeha and residents of Wellington¹³. A survey (n = 156: see appendix A: Table 4) revealed that 56% had university degrees compared with 16.3% of the Wellington regional population and 10.1% of the New Zealand population (www.stats.govt.nz, November 2007). In addition 15.3% personally earned more than \$70,000 per annum compared with 5% of the national population and 12% of Wellington’s regional population (www.stats.govt.nz, November 2007).

Many tourists categorised themselves as ‘*middle class*’, a term they characteristically reserved for individuals who are not ‘*working class*’ but which makes no necessary distinction between the landed gentry, capitalists, self-employed professionals such as lawyers, or those employed in ‘*white-collar*’ occupations such as Government officials. A middle class individual was deemed to be ‘*well-paid*’, ‘*well-educated*’ and/or who displayed ‘*middle class*’ cultural capital (e.g. a love of wine etc). Thus a wealthy builder or plumber (generally regarded as ‘*blue-collar*’, working-class occupations)

¹³ Statistics New Zealand (2005) reported that of the 22,360 domestic tourists recorded visiting the Wairarapa in January 2005, more than 64% came from the two most densely urban areas of New Zealand – 11,750 (52.6%) were from the Wellington region, with an additional 2,130 (9.5%) from the Auckland region (see also Appendix A). Moreover, New Zealand is one of the most highly urbanised countries in the world, with 85.7% of its total population living in urban areas (Statistics New Zealand 2002). Therefore, leaving aside questions of whether urban or rural people are more or less likely to travel as domestic tourists, it may be inferred that approximately 85% or 19,000 of the domestic tourists to the Wairarapa in January 2005 were urban dwellers. As for the international tourists, whom accounted for 8,435 recorded individuals in the same month, 1,970 were from the United Kingdom/Ireland, the populations of which are 89.1% urban; 1800 were from Australia which has a 92% urban population; and 1370 were from North America of which 86.9% are urban (Statistics NZ 2005; www.un.org/esa/population/ November 2005).

who displayed the requisite cultural capital could also be categorised as middle class. There was also little distinction made, and no vernacular terminology to distinguish, between what may be called the intellectual middle classes (i.e. tertiary educated with a disposition toward theatre, classical music etc) and the entrepreneurial middle classes (i.e. wealthy with a pronounced '*working class*' disposition toward sports such as rugby

Fig.1 A demographically indicative, yet representative, snapshot of tourists at the Toast Martinborough wine and food festival in 2000.

league etc). The only distinguishing intra-class terminology used was '*old money*', a phrase most often uttered by long time Martinborough residents to refer to individuals whose families had several generations or more of prosperous farm ownership.¹⁴ Long-

¹⁴ Historically residents in and around Martinborough drew a clear social boundary between those who resided in the township and were mostly employed in retail, light industry or rural service enterprises – and those who lived in the surrounding district and were predominantly of farming backgrounds (with this social category being further divided into various hierarchies re: large estates or small runholders; sheep or dairy farmers; descendants of pioneer settlers or 'new' farming families etc – see McIntyre 2002). Thus residency in Martinborough was not necessarily enough to be identified as a '*local*'. Amongst the older residents and farming sectors of Martinborough it was generally assumed that you were '*not a local unless you had spent at least 25 years in Martinborough*'. This criterion of localness was often mentioned by in-marriage women – in New Zealand rural communities are typical for farms to be passed down the paternal or male line (Dominy 2001; Hatch 1992) – who would diffidently refute my assertions that they were '*locals*'. This notion represents the high value placed on long-term commitment to rural place and community. However, time served is not the only criterion that defined localness; individuals must have also actively demonstrated valued economic (i.e. productively working '*the land*'; creating employment etc); social (i.e. involvement in community based initiatives etc); and generational (i.e. in 25 years should produce a generation of grandchildren) commitment to Martinborough.

Today, the most often expressed social and identity distinctions are made between long-term residents of the Martinborough township (i.e. 'the locals'); vineyard owners/ winemakers and other recent émigrés (tourism

time residents also referred to tourists as '*townies*' or '*two-day locals*', terminology that contained latent references to the visiting tourists' middle class and urbane dispositions.

The tourists' perceptions mirror the situation in New Zealand society, where the individuals classified as "new middle class" (Roper 2005: 49) have steadily increased since the 1950's. A distinction may be made between old middle classes who were in the higher professions, farmers or owned small businesses, and the new middle classes employed in white-collar occupations such as teachers, computer technicians etc. Despite debates over how social class may be classified (e.g. Marxian and Weberian analysis – Roper 2005: 43-46), it is apparent that the numbers employed in blue-collar occupations has significantly decreased with the New Zealand Census recording 35.6% working in agriculture, forestry, fishing and manufacturing sectors in 1956 and only 22% in 2001 (Roper 2006: 47). Roper notes that by 1976, 8.9% of the workforce was old middle class, 42% were new middle class and 49% were working class (2005: 49). Compared to the working class, the new middle class typically enjoy "greater employment security, ascending rather than declining income curves during their working lives, better promotion opportunities, are more likely to receive fringe benefits such as pension and sick pay schemes, and because of the above, they have better access to housing finance and home ownership" (Roper 2004: 49). Inequities in market (i.e. wages, salaries, rents and profits before government redistribution) and disposable (i.e. total after-tax) incomes, and in wealth distribution and property ownership, have become increasingly marked in New Zealand. In 1987/88 the richest quintile (20%) earned 55.8% of market income, while the poorest three quintiles earned only 15.9%. The richest decile (10%) gained a 13.5% rise in disposable income between 1980 and 1994, yet the real incomes of other individuals fell during the 1980's (Roper 2005: 34-35).

However, as Bourdieu cogently notes an individual's relation to the means of production is only a part of their struggle for distinction (1984: 102), which also involves subtle deployment of various capitals and associated preservation, emulation,

providers, retirees etc) who often refer to themselves as local, but are often called '*newbies*' by long-time residents; '*two-day locals*' (i.e. holiday home owners); and the tourists. Indeed the derisive term '*two-day locals*', which is characteristically used by Martinborough residents, highlights their perception that weekenders practice limited residency and predominantly '*user*' or consumerist attitudes.

or innovation strategies (1984: 113-114). Thus there are many pathways to social mobility, including marriage, education, migration, residence (urban or rural), and the influence and timing of various life trajectories such as pregnancies, family reproduction, and sibling order (Bertaux & Thompson 1997). The distinctions between blue and white-collar employment have also been blurred as many occupations are now similarly professionalised via educational and technical qualifications (Bourdieu 1984: 132-135; Gellner 1983: 37), while occupational incomes can vary considerably as labour markets change (Beck 2002: 49). The emergence of tiered and niche production (Rouse 1995: 357), the democratisation of cultural capitals associated with luxury commodities such as wine, and the rise of singular, episodic, and credit-card facilitated consumption, has significantly enabled increasing numbers to indulge in consumption practices that were historically exclusive to the social elite. Post-industrial occupational, production and consumption regimes thus results in “a society which is destined to be a permanent game of musical chairs [that] cannot erect deep barriers of rank, of caste or estate, between the various sets of chairs which it possesses” (Gellner 1983: 25). Occupational mobility and the consequential changes in individuals’ affluence, social distinction, residence, and so on “reveals itself as a driving force behind the individualization of people’s lives” (Beck 2002: 32-33).

The overwhelming majority of the tourists I encountered were mid-range, middle class and were (or at least appeared) dependent on small/medium-sized business or occupational incomes to maintain current living standards; had college and tertiary education to first-degree level (often in vocational majors such as Commerce, Marketing, Law etc); and ranged in wine experience from novices to knowledgeable and experienced drinkers. Those I encountered who were extremely affluent, highly educated (Masters Degree and above) or were genuine wine connoisseurs (other than wine makers and critics) was thus limited. Therefore my analysis is fundamentally applicable to the mid-range, middle class individuals whose potential for (and sometimes experience of) either upclassing or downclassing was pronounced when compared to the social elite or disadvantaged. Furthermore, their wine and other consumption practices were not necessarily circumscribed by the restrictive etiquette typically associated with the social elite or erudite wine connoisseurship (Robinson 1999: 195). Thus many tourists readily embraced the experimentation, innovation and fashionable trends typical of New World wine production/consumption and likewise

articulated reflexive narratives that asserted their personal tastes and justified their social distinction.

A history of Martinborough

Martinborough is one of a few ‘squire towns’ (i.e. townships privately established by individuals)¹⁵ in New Zealand and was first envisioned in 1879 when the Honourable John Martin announced his plans to subdivide part of his newly acquired 33,000 acre Huangarua station¹⁶ into 593 town sections (up to 1 acre) and 334 small farm blocks (ranging from 4.5 to 1100 acres). Martin predicted that Martinborough would service the burgeoning agricultural population¹⁷ in the South Wairarapa of New Zealand (see Fig.2.).

Martin had arrived in Wellington in 1841, aged 19, an orphan¹⁸ and with “only his wits, his brawn and a rudimentary education on his side”¹⁹ (McIntyre 2002: 96). By 1869

¹⁵ While many settler towns were established by the New Zealand Company or associated organisations (Belich 1996), a few – sometimes referred to as squire towns – were also established by private individuals subdividing farm land. Another notable North Island squire town is Morrinsville in the Waikato region, first established by Thomas Morrin in 1873 from part of his purchase of the Kuranui No. 2 run. Morrinsville was formally gazetted as a township in 1908 (www.morrinsville-info-com, November 2007).

¹⁶ News of Martin’s plan was greeted with popular acclaim with the New Zealand Mail “excitedly” (McIntyre 2002: 109) announcing that “the topic of the week was Martin’s intention to cut the run up into smaller farms. The plan was applauded by the press, who hoped this would set an example to other runholders to boost settlement and development of the district” (McIntyre 2002: 109-110). Martin’s purchase of Huangarua Station in 1879 for £85,000 (including stock and improvements) was reported as a “deal so breathtakingly large that it became almost national news” (McIntyre 2002: 109 – see also Bagnall 1976). Clearly, Martin’s motivation to subdivide part of this estate was to profit from the small farm settlement ethos which had gained a foothold in the Wairarapa with the establishment of Masterton and Greytown in 1854, and in the process off-set some of his purchase costs and liabilities.

¹⁷ The pioneer colonisation of the Wairarapa largely reflected a common sequence of development via extensive sheep farming followed by increasing settlement populations, smaller, yet more diversified and intensive agriculture, and the establishment of other industries. The first European settlers to the area had arrived in 1843 and immediately established extensive sheep stations on lands inhabited by the local Maori who were of Ngati Kahungunu descent. Colloquially settlers were known as the squattocracy, that is they squatted on lands without legal title, although usually through leasing or rental agreements with local Maori. By 1847 there were 13,000 sheep, 1,400 cattle and 73 horses grazed by 92 squatters (59 men, 14 women and 19 infants). The squatters eventually bought title interest in the land from the Crown who held a monopoly on all Maori land purchases from 1845 to 1865. It was partly because Wairarapa Maori highly valued the rent they received from the squatters that the Crown did not make any significant progress in acquiring their lands until 1853, when Ngati Kahungunu sold nearly one million acres of land to the Crown which consequently on-sold freehold title to the squatters. Around this time there were 15 sheep runs accommodating some 50,000 sheep and 3,500 cattle (Bagnall 1976; McIntyre 2002).

¹⁸ Born in 1822 in County Derry, Northern Ireland, John Martin was the fourth eldest of 11 siblings who were orphaned in 1838 when their parents died of typhus. In 1840 the family took advantage of free passage that was being offered by the New Zealand Company and sought out “opportunities far greater than in Ireland” (McIntyre 2002: 96). They travelled on the Lady Nugent with a group of 247 emigrants – 21 of whom died in transit, including two of the Martin party.

Martin's success in property speculation enabled him to purchase the Otaraia station in the Wairarapa, which would ultimately extend to 12,698 acres. In 1878 Martin was appointed to the Legislative Council by George Grey the Premier. During this time Martin had also endeared himself to the people of Wellington and the Wairarapa through various acts of generosity and this assisted him to "gain acceptance by the provincial elite" (McIntyre 2002; 102).

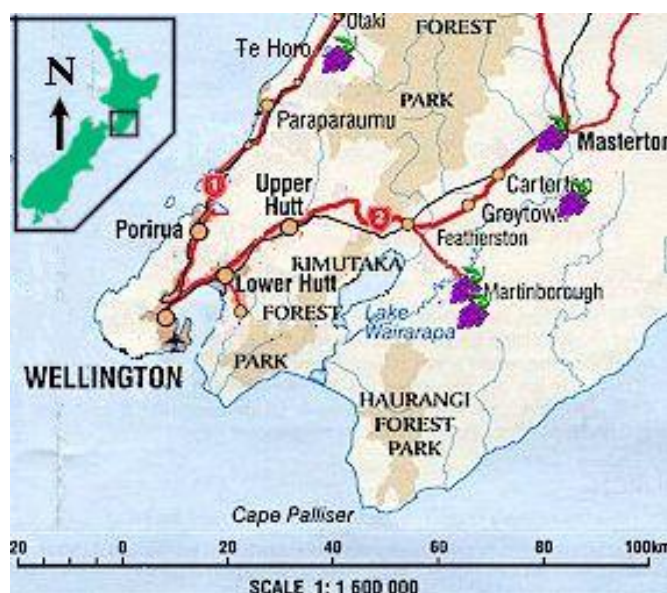


Fig. 2. A map of the lower North Island showing Wellington (the capital city) and the main route (State Highway 2) to Martinborough and the Wairarapa (www.martinborough.com, December 2006).

The establishment of Martinborough represented the pinnacle of Martin's career in property development and his associated quest for elite status (see Appendix B). It was clearly an act of monumental self-affirmation borne of Martin's 'country squire' aspirations, which undoubtedly had their foundations in the British Isles. Martin also named Martin Square and Johnny Martin's Fountain in Wellington, and named Marion and Jessie Streets in Wellington after his wife and youngest daughters, all of which were grounded statements "of his success and proved to the sceptics that he had made it" (McIntyre 2002: 124). In addition, by laying out the town centre of Martinborough

¹⁹ Shortly after his arrival, John Martin was employed as a pick and shovel hand, but in 1860 he obtained a letter of credit for £1,500 and went into partnership on a licence for the 12,800 acre Run 53 in Otago. The following year gold was found on Run 53 and it was declared a goldfield with the partners accepting £1,216 in depasturing compensation from the government. Martin used his share to buy and sell stock (cattle and sheep) to the goldminers, and to purchase their gold which he then on-sold to the banks for a profit. John Martin returned to Wellington with a rumoured £13,000, established himself as a merchant and general commission agent, and built a new residence named Fountain Hall after the place in Edinburgh where his wife's father had worked as stone mason (McIntyre 2002; Nicholls 1985).

in shape of the Union Jack (see Figs. 3 & 4.) and in naming its central streets after places he had visited on his Grand Tour in 1875 (e.g. New York, Cologne, Strasbourg, Venice, Broadway and Kansas Streets) Martin also signified, and embedded within, the South Wairarapa landscape his allegiance to, and positive experiences of, the imperial power of the British Empire in 19th century New Zealand.

A large crowd attended the first day of the Martinborough auction and town sections selling for £5 5s to £16 per acre. The second day was, however, dismal and when bidding on a block of 156 acres attracted a highest bid of only £4 an acre, Martin stopped the auction “amid considerable murmurs of disgust and discontent” (McIntyre 2002: 110 – see also Bagnall 1976). In total only a few town sections sold and the rest were distributed amongst Martin’s heirs (Bagnall 1976; McIntyre 2002; Nicholls 1985).



Fig.3. An aerial photograph of Martinborough in which the distinctive layout that emulates the British flag can be seen with the tree-lined Memorial Square (aka the Town Square) in the centre.

The first business established was a general store operated by George Pain and the Martinborough Post Office opened in 1882. Ramsden and Ussher’s General Store followed and the Martinborough Hotel opened in 1883, as did the Anglican Church in Dublin Street. A Police Station was established two years later. By 1891 there was also a butcher, blacksmith, saddler, baker, a Presbyterian church, a school, the Club Hotel, and a few carrier firms. In 1905 Martinborough became an independent local unit²⁰ and the Martinborough Town Board was established (Bagnall 1976; Martinborough

²⁰ The district had previously been administered by the Featherston Highway Board (1872 – 1882), Featherston Road Board (1883 – 1902) and by the Featherston County Council from March 1902 (Dunmore 1991).

Centennial Committee 1992). During the 20th century Martinborough's resident population was between 1200 and 1500 individuals (McIntyre 2002). The township's fortunes largely mirrored the fluctuations in the national agricultural economy, for example the high wool prices and rural prosperity during the Korean War in the 1950's. The subsequent crash of wool prices in the mid 1960's, the retraction of international agricultural markets with the establishment of the European Union in 1973, and the removal of Government farming subsidies in the 1980's that prompted farm land sales and diversification of the rural economy (Kelsey 1995; Le Heron & Roche 1999; Willis 2003), resulted in the eventual development of local wine and tourism industries in Martinborough (see Chapters 5 & 7).

Martinborough's urbane transformation

Fast-forward 125 years and one finds a very different Martinborough²¹. Since the 1980's the township and surrounding district of Martinborough has been transformed into a popular tourist destination and a self-proclaimed 'wine village'.

The first vineyards, Dry River, Ata Rangi, Waihenga Vineyard and Chifney, were planted in 1979-1980 with approximately 46 acres (18.6 hectares) of grapevines²². By 2006 there were 39 wine-producing²³ vineyards (see Fig. 4.) registered as members of the New Zealand Winegrowers²⁴ and listed in the Wellington region,²⁵ with more than

²¹ Martinborough grew into a rural service town for the southern and eastern portions of the region which are currently governed by the South Wairarapa District Council. Covering an area of approximately 248,455 hectares (2484 square kilometres), the South Wairarapa is the largest district council region in New Zealand (www.swdc.govt.nz, November 2007).

²² Dr Neil McCallum established Dry River with 20 acres (10 planted) in 1979; Waihenga Vineyard (later renamed Martinborough Vineyard in 1984) was started on 16 acres in 1980; Stan Chifney bought 10 acres the same year (later expanded to 15 acres in 1984), while Clive Paton launched Ata Rangi with 12 acres (10 planted) at the same time (McIntyre 2002; pers. comm.; Martinborough Winemakers' Oral History 1990).

²³ As opposed to 'contract grape growing' vineyards that simply provide grapes to a winery for processing.

²⁴ New Zealand Winegrowers was established in March 2002 as the joint initiative of the New Zealand Grape Growers Council, representing the interests of independent grape growers, and the Wine Institute of New Zealand, representing wineries (www.nzwine.com, December 2007).

²⁵ The New Zealand Winegrowers classifies Wellington as a large region which occupies the southern section of the North Island. Wairarapa, on the lower eastern side of this region, is Wellington's only wine district. Currently there is no governmental legislation designating wine regions, although the Government is planning to introduce a geographical indications registration system to help the viticulture industry in its marketing strategies. A geographical indicator is evidence (although not guaranteed) that a wine or spirit comes from a specific geographical origin, which suggests it possesses a particular quality, reputation, or other characteristic which arises from that place of origin. Although the Geographical Indications Act which establishes a registration system for recognising and protecting geographical indications was passed in 1994, it has never come into effect (www.med.govt.nz, November 2007).

809 hectares of plantings (NZ Winegrowers 2007). Thirty-seven vineyards were listed on www.martinborough.com as being in, or near, Martinborough (www.martinborough.com, November 2006).

Most Martinborough vineyards are boutique, and are classified as Category I vineyards (less than 200,000 litres of grape wine sales). Only Craggy Range, Palliser Estate and Te Kairanga are listed as Category II vineyards (between 200,000 and 2m litres of grape wine sales) and none are classified as Category III vineyards (more than 2m litres of grape wine sales) (NZ Wine Growers 2007).

The New Zealand wine industry is small, ranking 30th by output and producing only 0.2% of global wine supplies. The total production of 12,000 hectoliters in 2005 compares with Australia's 140,000 hl and France's 520,000 hl (www.wineinstitute.org, December 2007). The local wine industry has, however, evolved dramatically with wineries increasing from 112 in 1987 to 536 in 2006; production from 42 million litres in 1984 to 108 million litres in the year ended June 2006; and hectares in wine production from 5,000 to 21,002 during the same period. New Zealand wine exports have increased from 0.5 million litres in 1982 to 51 million litres in 2005, and wine imports have increased from 3.4 to 35 million litres during the same period, although this was a decrease from 45 million litres in 2004 (Cooper 2002: 27; NZ Wine Growers 2007: 2, 7-15).

The Wellington region, of which Martinborough is the principal wine producing locale, is the sixth largest in New Zealand, behind Marlborough (428 vineyards and 13,647 ha of plantings), Hawkes Bay (157 : 4,876ha), Gisborne (92 : 2,212ha), Central Otago (50 : 1,613ha) and Canterbury/Waipara (32 : 1,043). Although smaller than Central Otago, which is also renowned for its Pinot Noir, Martinborough is similar in respect that only two Central Otago vineyards are classified as Category II vineyards and the rest are Category I or boutique vineyards (Cooper 2002: 27; NZ Wine Growers 2007: 2-3).

Pinot Noir is the principal variety grown by Martinborough vineyards, and for which Ata Rangi, Dry River and Martinborough Vineyard have achieved international renown. The Wairarapa region has the third largest Pinot Noir plantings (435ha) in New Zealand, behind Marlborough with 1715ha and Central Otago with 975ha. The

recent extensive planting of Pinot Noir in Marlborough, Central Otago and elsewhere²⁶ has followed on from the success of Martinborough and by 2006 Pinot Noir was the second most popular grape variety (18%) planted in New Zealand. Sauvignon Blanc continues to be the most popular (40%), with Chardonnay slipping to third (17%) (NZ Wine Growers 2007: 7-15).

Martinborough (and Central Otago) wines – especially Pinot Noir – are promoted as high-quality wines. Many Martinborough Pinots retail at the high-end of the market in New Zealand. For example, Ata Rangi and Martinborough Vineyard Pinot Noir retailed at \$60NZ a 750ml bottle in 2007. This compares with lesser Pinot Noirs from areas such as Marlborough and Waipara which typically retailed at \$27-\$30NZ.

Tourist numbers in the Wairarapa and Martinborough have also increased significantly. In July 1996 a total of 8,477 guest nights (7,290 domestic; 1,190 international) were recorded from 32 accommodation providers in the Wairarapa (Statistics New Zealand 1996). These establishments had a combined capacity of 845 stay units and employed 120 full-time employees. By July 2004 a similar survey of 58 accommodation providers recorded 12,119 guest nights (10,625 domestic; 1,493 international). These accommodation providers offered a daily capacity of 1270 stay units (+33.5%) and employed some 260 (+116.7%) employees (Statistics New Zealand 2004).

Martinborough's transformation from a rural service town to a wine village is evident in the fact that the only accommodation providers of any consequence in the mid 1970's were the Martinborough Hotel and Club Hotel²⁷, which were both in marked states of disrepair, and a few private holiday homes (pers. comm.).²⁸ However, in 2005 the GoWairarapa tourism website recorded for Martinborough:

- Six motel/hotel/lodge establishments, including the Aylstone Wine Country Retreat, Margrain Villas, Peppers Martinborough Hotel, Petit Hotel, The Claremont Motel, and Martinborough Motel;

²⁶ In 1999 the total plantings of Pinot Noir in New Zealand were 826ha or 9.2% of total plantings (9000ha) of all grape varieties. In 2006 the total Pinot Noir plantings were 4,624ha or 18% of total plantings (26,272ha) of all grape varieties (New Zealand Winegrowers 2007).

²⁷ The Club Hotel was demolished during the 1970's and was replaced by the Pukemanu Tavern.

²⁸ Quotes referenced to "pers. comm." are from sources which may be identified through description of their gender, occupation etc.

- 90 self-contained accommodation providers, which mostly operate from former residential properties;
- Nine bed and breakfast outfits, which provide accommodation in occupied domestic residences;
- Two backpackers or budget accommodation providers; Kate's Place and the Martinborough Camping Ground, which is run by the South Wairarapa District Council and offers caravan/tent sites near the local public pool (www.wairarapanz.com, April 2005).

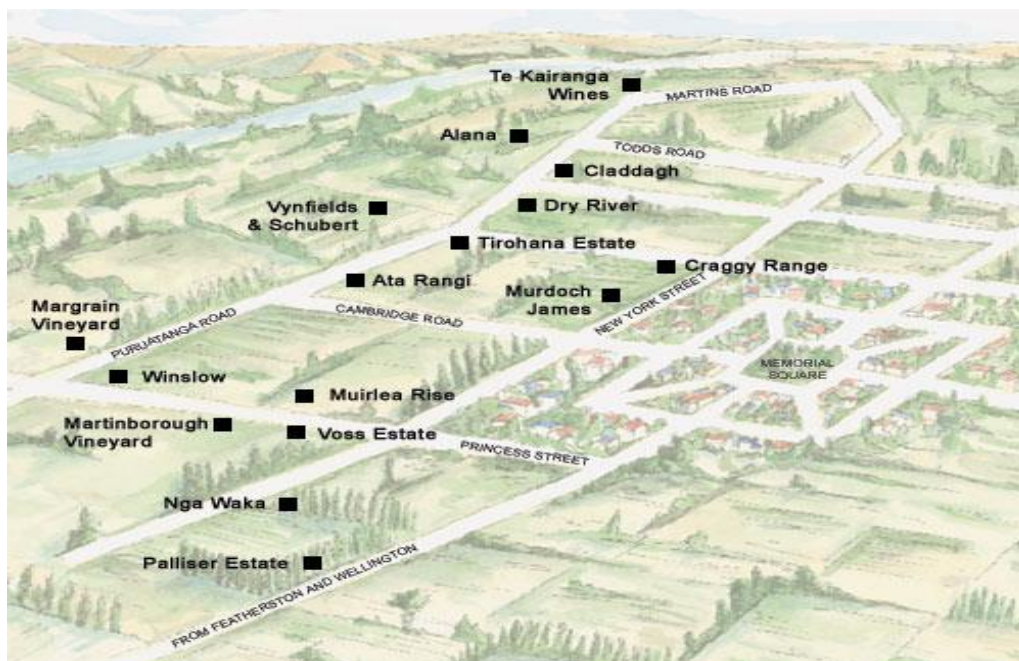


Fig.4. A map of contemporary Martinborough showing some of the vineyards around and near the township (www.martinborough.com, December 2006).

Self-contained and homestay accommodation providers utilise nearly 100, or approximately 18%, of the 561 Martinborough residences recorded in the 2001 Census (www.stats.govt.nz, November 2007). Since 1991 the resident population has decreased from 1580 people in 586 households to 1356 individuals in 561 households in 2001, a net decrease of 224 individuals (−16.5%) and some 25 (−4.2%) households (www.stats.govt.nz, November 2007). During the period from 1990 to 2003 the roll of the local school, the Martinborough Primary School, has dropped from 323 to 173, a net decrease of 150 students or −46% (pers. comm.). Between 1997 to mid October

2004, however, the South Wairarapa District Council approved a total of 165 building permits for new dwellings in Martinborough and some 104 dwellings were relocated into the township and nearby area (pers. comm.),²⁹ with many either being used as holiday homes or tourist accommodation.

Methodology

I used a variety of standard anthropological methodologies³⁰ including participation-observation, interviewing subjects, archival/ historical research, and surveys (Bernard 1994). I ‘worked’ as a vineyard worker at a Martinborough vineyard through two vintages; in a wine shop as a cellar assistant; as a bar-tender at the annual Toast Martinborough wine and food festival; as a helper at the trade section of Toast Martinborough³¹ and at vintage releases in Wellington. I also ‘worked’ in the local tourist information centre as a volunteer helper and ‘shadowed’ the organiser of Toast Martinborough in the lead-up to, and during, the 2000 festival. Similarly I ‘worked’ with the sub-committee of the South Wairarapa Rotary Club that organised the annual Martinborough Fairs³² and with the sub-committee of the Martinborough School Parent-Teacher Association that organised the school’s 75th Jubilee celebrations. I also participated in several organised vineyard tours as a paying customer and attended Toast Martinborough, the Gershwin Music Festival, Round-the-Vines Fun Runs, and many other tourist events (e.g. the celebrations of the moving of Station Hotel into Martinborough³³). I also attended many public wine-related events, such as a paying-

²⁹ Unfortunately the South Wairarapa District Council does not keep records of ‘retired’ or ‘uninhabited’ residential dwellings.

³⁰ My research was approved by the Human Ethics Committee, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand in 1997. The issue of subject identification was to be determined in discussion with individual subjects and only undertaken when either (i) identification did not necessarily harm their reputation or that of other subjects; or (ii) subjects were being identified and quoted in their official capacities (i.e. as a winemaker) in a public forum (e.g. a newspaper article). However, as my research encounters with subjects were often fleeting this made it impossible for me to determine if identifying a subject could harm them or another person in the future. Thus I decided not to name any subjects unless in accordance with criteria (ii).

³¹ The trade section of Toast Martinborough was held the day before the festival and was an invitation-only event for restaurateurs, wine retailers and distributors, who were able to sample participating vineyards’ wines and place orders for the following year.

³² The Martinborough Fairs are held in the central town square (Memorial Square) in Martinborough in the first weekend of February and March. Organised by the South Wairarapa Rotary Club the fairs have been held since 1977 and regularly attract between 20,000-30,000 consumers.

³³ In December 1998 Mike and Sally Laven, part-owners of the Martinborough Hotel, together with other prominent residents (The Dominion, November 5, 1998: 15), moved the Station Hotel (circa 1903) from Masterton (approximately 50kms away) to a site opposite the Martinborough Hotel and behind the old Post Office building (circa 1896 – now The French Bistro restaurant). The ground floor of the Station Hotel is currently used for retail shops and the top floor for office space (see Chapter 5).

customer at wine-tastings organised by the Martinborough Hotel and as a guest at barbeques organised by the Martinborough Wine & Food Society. I regularly frequented Martinborough cafés, vineyard wine shops, and hotels to monitor the conversations, actions, and interactions of tourists, many of whom I spontaneously interviewed.

In many respects my fieldwork mirrored the episodic engagement of Martinborough by many tourists. It was also integrated around my occupation (lecturing/tutoring) and domestic responsibilities, which included raising two children, falling in love with a beautiful woman, supporting her and our family through her terminal illness, and as servicing a nagging mortgage.³⁴ I would typically spend one or two days during the working week at the vineyard or interviewing subjects. Then on the weekends I volunteered in the Martinborough Information Centre, interviewed/surveyed tourists, and participated in various tourist events. When my university was closed for student holidays and my marking responsibilities dispensed with, I would often take the opportunity to engage in full-time fieldwork. Thus I felt like a tourist, albeit one who was gratefully accorded access to the ‘back-stages’ of Martinborough’s wine and tourism industry. This perspective was complimented from 2000 to 2007 when I owned and operated a tourist homestay, Rose Cottage, approximately 10 kilometres from Martinborough. The management of Rose Cottage enabled me to experience first-hand many of the phenomena Martinborough homestay operators had spoken about and especially the friendships that regular customers³⁵ sought to establish with them and the sense of ‘ownership’ of homestays that many tourists’ expressed (see Chapter 4).

My experiences also emulated the typical process undertaken by individuals who desire, and over time acquire, an increased consumption experience, palate knowledge,

³⁴ My Martinborough fieldwork started in 1998 and continued on a part-time basis until 2000, when my late wife was diagnosed with breast cancer. During the next three years work on my PhD lapsed as I prioritised my wife, family, and occupational responsibilities. A little more than a year after my wife’s death in January 2003 I re-enrolled in PhD studies at the University of Canterbury. I re-interviewed key informants and up-dated statistical and promotional data before commencing analysis of my ethnographic material.

³⁵ Rose Cottage attracted a number of regular guests (approximately 15 couples) and outside the typical friendly discourse (e.g. asking how my children were or how the gardens at Rose Cottage were faring) that characterised their verbal bookings, three guests also contacted me (either by phone or e-mail) on an intermittent basis for friendly chats outside of their bookings. I never physically met these individuals, although they would typically send me thank-you cards after staying at Rose Cottage and Christmas cards.

and appreciation of wine. When I started my research I was essentially a wine novice. I was able to distinguish between red or white wine, and had a reasonable knowledge of common varietals such as Sauvignon Blanc, Cabernet Sauvignon and Chardonnay. I was able to identify good wines, especially via wine-bottle promotions (e.g. Gold Medal stickers) or from reading wine reviews in newspapers and lifestyle magazines. However, during my research I developed a knowledgeable palate so I can now easily identify the particular taste characteristics of different varietals. I have also developed a reasonable understanding of wine production and the influence of different techniques, seasonal conditions, vine age etc on wine flavours.

I thus empathised with a wide range of Martinborough tourists, from wine novices to wine connoisseurs. As a tertiary educated and reflexively aware individual, originally from a working-class family background and very experienced in the socio-economic vagaries of contractual employment, I also empathised with individuals who desired, acquired, displayed, and narrated the various capitals of middle class distinction and reflexive individuality. I was also sensitive toward the performative, and potentially illusory, aspects of such touristic/ social distinction displays and narrations, especially when compared with problematic and mundane aspects of everyday occupational and domestic life.

I also conducted semi-structured interviews with winemakers and their family members, wine shop assistants, wine reviewers, the operators of local homestays, bus tours and garden attractions, shopkeepers and retailers, community councillors, residents (both long-time and recent), and with tourists (both in Martinborough and some in their Wellington homes). Moreover, whenever attending a Wellington social function (e.g. a barbeque etc) or any other similar social event outside Martinborough I would, after discussing my research interests, be typically inundated by various people's narratives detailing their personal Martinborough experiences or assessments of local wines. Thus my ethnography was spontaneously multi-sited (Marcus 1998).

My fieldwork was also multi-sited in that I conducted archival research in the Martinborough Oral Histories³⁶ (1982) held in the Turnbull Library, Wellington, and in the Martinborough Winemakers Oral Histories³⁷ (1991) held in the Wairarapa Archive, Masterton. I also conducted comparative analysis of Martinborough and New Zealand vineyard websites, wine advertisements, wine-related newspaper and magazine articles, and wine reviews. In addition I compared and contrasted the Martinborough wine culture with analysis of other contemporary wine cultures, especially French, and with historical recollections of the wine industries in New Zealand and North America.

Lastly, I conducted several surveys as a way of ‘testing’ my ethnographic observations and interview data against larger subject samples. I have included surveys of Martinborough tourists (Appendix A, C; n = 156), Martinborough households (Appendix A; n= 106) including both ‘permanent’ and ‘weekend’ households, and of homestay operators (Appendix D; n = 24).

My participant-observation research was most often conducted in public settings where individuals conspicuously performed (i.e. enacted, narrated, compared, evaluated etc) their middle class distinction and reflexive individualism. Participant-observation in a variety of settings enabled me to meaningfully compare the negotiation, consistency, and coherence of tourists’ conspicuous performances. I could also ‘measure’ the social validity of their individually expressed, yet seemingly collective ideals, through surveys and interviews with other subjects. I was not, however, able to readily gain insight into individual’s privately-held and non-articulated beliefs, values, desires, or aspirations. Hence the central focus of my analysis is on the tourists’ conspicuous performances and narratives of middle class distinction and reflexive individualism. Nevertheless, I have drawn on my intimate knowledge and experience of middle class friends, acquaintances and colleagues (all of whom have visited Martinborough as tourists) to construct a comparative perspective on the possible convergences and divergences between the tourists’ idealistic performances and their everyday desires, aspirations, values, anxieties, and frustrations. In addition, I came to know several subjects on an intimate,

³⁶The Martinborough Oral History Project was facilitated by the New Zealand Oral History Association and is comprised of interviews with forty-two long time residents, who were recorded in 35 life history interviews. Conducted by Hugo Manson and Judith Fyfe, it was undertaken at the time of the South Wairarapa town’s centenary in 1981.

³⁷ The Martinborough Wine Winemakers Oral History was conducted by Heather Cormack in 1990-91 and recorded interviews with 10 local winemakers.

friendly basis and was thus often privy to their private ruminations and practices. Therefore, I have utilised these insights to interpret and analyse the multitude of conspicuous articulations and practices of tourists and their idealised construction of Martinborough's metro-rurality and wine tourism.

Conclusion

Mary Douglas' insight that "sampling a drink is sampling what is happening to a whole category of social life" (1989: 9) is pertinent to any analysis of Martinborough's tourists who dialogically constructed and enacted shared notions of time, leisure, age, gender, place, nationality and so on. My thesis specifically explores³⁸ how the tourists' leisured, performative, and locale specific consumption of Martinborough's *'fine Pinot Noir wines'* and other urbane commodities constructed middle class distinction (general and hierarchised) and also engaged many of the core ideals of reflexive individualism.

Martinborough, a small, rural *'boutique wine village'* approximately one hour's drive from New Zealand's capital city, is a popular holiday destination for many of the capital's affluent, tertiary-educated, and urbane middle classes. Thousands flock to the township every month, with annual events such as the Toast Martinborough Wine & Food Festival attracting many thousands on a single day. Many tourists were attracted to Martinborough in anticipation of the rural idyll (e.g. picturesque landscape, intimate communities/families etc). However, they also typically desired historic, yet modernised and luxurious accommodation, artisan or hand-made *'designer'* goods, gourmet foodstuffs and most often a personalised *'vineyard experience'* and the reflexive sociability aroused through spending *'quality time'* with lovers, friends or family.

³⁸ I could have examined other ethnographic phenomena. For example, the gender division of labour on the vineyards - males typically operated as the technocrats/ winemakers and women were employed as grape-pickers, leaf-pluckers, or in marketing and administration (see Ulin 1988, 2002); the construction of local, regional and national identities as ethnographically facilitated by wine production and consumption (see Demossier 2001, 2004, 2005; Kjellgren 2004; Ulin 2002; Wilson 2005 et al); the carnivalesque (Bakhtin 1968) aspects of Toast Martinborough, an annual wine and food festival, in comparison with other traditions, rituals, and protocols of wine-consumption in other settings (see Demossier 1997; Gusfield 1989); the socio-economic comparison between small-scale family vineyards (e.g. Ata Rangi) and the emergent large-scale investor vineyards (e.g. Craggy Range); and the perceived dialogic influence of art and science in winemaking.

Martinborough's tourists, tourism operators, and wine producers dialogically created an imagined vernacular rural idyll, which was widely regarded as enduring and inherently worthwhile. The morality of the rural idyll was routinely deployed to validate an equally romanticised metro-rural idyll, which in conjunction with idealised notions of the '*French tradition of fine wine*', provided a corroborating setting for the tourists' conspicuous, leisured consumption of urbane commodities that signified their middle class distinction. The idealised metro-rurality of Martinborough, together with the innovative, experimental ethos of New World wine production/consumption, also served to underpin the tourists' performative displays and narratives of ideal reflexive individuality. Tourists were thus routinely encouraged to enact idealised reflexive sociality, to express personal tastes/ choices and orientations toward hierarchised social distinction, and ultimately to construct a coherent and praiseworthy self. Likewise, wine making and other commodity production in metro-rural Martinborough was biographised, and producers such as winemakers were celebrated as named artisans, doyens of middle class distinction and ideal reflexive individuality.

Martinborough's wine tourism contained stratifying mechanisms with an ethnographically acknowledged potential to upclass/ downclass and socially rank individuals. However, this potential was, in part, alleviated by the tourists' performative assertion of ideal reflexive individuality. In addition, a collusive nexus of wine's structural democratisation (via tasting notes, quality rating systems etc), the celebration of New World innovation, and the capacity for singular and episodic consumption provided a space for the parallel creation of narratives that publicly celebrated personal tastes and an ideal reflexive self. It also provided the means by which tourists could intentionally indulge in ersatz, embryonic or aspirational performances of middle class distinction.

My thesis is divided into several sections. This chapter introduced my analysis of the wine tourists and provided an overview of Martinborough's establishment and transformation into a '*wine village*'. The next section (Chapter Two) discusses the theories that underpin my analysis, especially the habitus of social distinction and associated dispositions; the institutionalisation of individualism; emergence of reflexive habitus; and the ideal dispositions of reflexive individuality. I also examine

contemporary modes of consumption, both in terms of social distinction and reflexive consumption, and discuss the influence of singular, episodic, conspicuous, and democratised (in terms of cultural capital) consumption in the performative displays of social distinction and ideal reflexive individualism.

The third section (Chapters 3-4) examines the framing, staging and enactment of Martinborough as a metro-rural idyll and I discuss the nexus of idealised rurality and urbane middle class distinction within a variety of touristic Martinborough's – picturesque, neighbourly, romantic, historical, cosmopolitan and Euro-chic Martinborough. The tourists' performative construction of ideal reflexive individuality via their interactive biographisation of Martinborough's metro-rural producers, retailers, and homestay operators is explored in some depth, as is the tourists' creation of Martinborough as a romantic setting for their idealised displays of reflexive sociality.

The last section (Chapters 5-8) examines the mechanisms by which middle class distinction and ideal reflexive individualism are attributed to tourists, wine makers, purchase experiences, consumption settings, and to wine as a product. Specifically I discuss the entangled influence of the '*French tradition*' of fine wine and the New World ethos of progressive innovation, and their connection to the ethnographic renderings of the rural and metro-rural idylls of Martinborough. I also explore how these mythologies dialogically underpin the tourists' ethnographic manifestations of middle class distinction; yet also significantly moderate the effects of status stratification by enabling individuals, in conspicuous consumption settings and in casual social gatherings, to sustain validated narratives and performances of personal tastes, reflexive sociality, and of reflexive distinction that consistently affirms their ideal reflexive individuality. In addition I argue that socially validated assertions of ideal reflexive individuality and middle class distinction are also enabled by the democratisation of wine consumption. This is facilitated by the historical development of wine as a singular commodity, the increasing accessibility of the cultural capital that facilitates connoisseur-like consumption, and via the conspicuous consumption of Martinborough's performative settings.

Chapter Two:

The Theory: social distinction and ideal reflexive individualism

Introduction

My analysis of Martinborough's wine tourists focuses on several entangled fields of action – specifically their leisured and conspicuous consumption of urbane commodities; reflexive sociality; locality constructs of vernacular rural and metro-rural idylls; and their dialogical production, performative/ narrative enactment, and social reconciliation of middle class distinction and ideal reflexive individualism. I argue that the tourists' dispositional orientation and desire for middle class distinction and reflexive individuality is generated within a shared habitus, namely their educational, consumerist, and occupational backgrounds. Many scholars have noted that performative, conspicuous consumption is often associated with the construction and articulation of various subjectivities and identities. Accordingly I analyse how Martinborough's tourists' constructed their holidays as opportunities to engage in performative displays, negotiations and evaluations of valued economic, social and cultural capitals that clearly signified their capacity to enjoy "distance from necessity" (Bourdieu 1984: 56) and thus highlighted their ideal social distinction and reflexive individuality.

My analysis principally engages the work of Beck (2002) and Giddens (1991) on the institutionalisation of individuality and the consequential rise of a reflexive habitus (Sweetman 2003). I also draw upon Bourdieu's (1984, 2002) notion of generative habitus, capital acquisition and deployment, field-specific dispositions, and the competitive struggle for social distinction. I also examine how the tourists' construction of Martinborough as metro-rural idyll reflects their habitus of place (Hillier and Rooksby et al 2002) and how this idealised notion, together with the '*French tradition*' associated with fine wine, are sustained by mythologies that are ascribed with historical endurance and thus also with durable social good or authenticity. Lastly I deploy a variety of theories of economic production, performative consumption and identity construction (Douglas & Isherwood 1996; Miller 1987; McCracken 1990) and also explore how the tourists' consumption is leisured (i.e. of recreational luxuries), singular

(i.e. discrete and associated with a named producer), premised on democratised cultural capital, and is typically episodic or fleeting

Everything's coming up habitus

Bourdieu argues that differentiated social practice emerges from habitus, which is an enculturated³⁹ “system of cognitive and motivating structures” (1990: 53) that produces a subconscious framework of particular dispositions and capitals (economic, social, cultural and symbolic) that individuals acquire from, and dynamically deploy within, the social positions and fields of action into which they are born, educated, and experience throughout their lifetimes:

“The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable dispositions... Objectively ‘regulated’ and ‘regular’ without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor” (Bourdieu 1977: 72 – emphasis in original).

Thus habitus are “classificatory schemes” (Bourdieu 1998: 8) that distinguish between “what is good and what is bad, between what is right and what is wrong, between what is distinguished and what is vulgar” (Bourdieu 1998: 8). Thus “[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice” (Bourdieu 1984: 101).

Habitus can theoretically generate an infinite number of practices premised on the differentiated deployment of diverse volumes and configurations of capital in relation

³⁹ As habitus is a quality of both individuals and groups, formative family (i.e. social origins) and educational (i.e. institutional and informal) experiences are recognised as core sites of the inculcation of key competencies and dispositions. In this respect family and educational backgrounds are also thoroughly informed by contingent economic and social ‘necessities’ (e.g. extra and intra-familial divisions of labour based variously on social rank, age and/or gender, forms of parent-child relations; modes of consumption etc) pertinent to an individual’s class:

“The family and the school function as sites in which the competencies deemed necessary at a given time are constituted by usage itself, and, simultaneously, as sites in which the **price** of those competencies is determined, i.e., as markets which, by their positive or negative sanctions, evaluate performance, reinforcing what is acceptable, discouraging what is not, condemning valueless dispositions to extinction... [though] it is in no way suggested that the corresponding behaviour is guided by rational calculation of maximum profit” (Bourdieu 1994: 70 & 85-86 – emphasis in original).

to the strategies of others through a range of fields (Bourdieu 1984; 1998). As Bourdieu notes:

“To any given volume of inherited capital there corresponds a band of more or less equally probable trajectories leading to more or less equivalent positions (this is the *field of the possibles* objectively offered to any agent), and the shift from one trajectory to another often depends on collective events – wars, crises etc. – or individual events – encounters, affairs, benefactors etc. ... when, that is, they are not deliberately contrived by institutions (clubs, family reunions, old-boys’ or alumni associations etc.) or by the spontaneous intervention of individuals or groups. It follows from this that position and individual trajectory are not statistically independent; all positions of arrival are not equally probable for all starting positions” (1984: 110 – emphasis in original).

Prospects for change (individual and social) are embedded within the logic of habitus and practice. Bourdieu notes all fields are structured in two dimensions, overall capital volume and dominant/dominated capital, which enable social class movements that are either vertical (i.e. up or down within the same field) or transverse (i.e. from one field to another). Vertical movements, such as when a small businessman becomes a big businessman, are the most common, as they only require an increase in the volume of capital already dominant within a field. Transverse movements are less frequent, as they require a shift into another field (e.g. when a shopkeeper becomes an industrialist) and necessitate a conversion of one type of capital into another (e.g. from landowning to investment capital), which results in a transformation of the total asset structure (Bourdieu 1984).

People are simultaneously positioned in more than one field. This together with the complex interdependency of different fields produces what Bourdieu called the “field of power” (1998: 34) in which struggles are characteristically between economic and cultural capital.

“The field of power... is not a field like the others. It is the space of relations of force between the different kinds of capital or, more precisely, between the agents who possess a sufficient amount of the one of the different kinds of capital to be in a position to dominate the corresponding

field, whose struggles intensify whenever the relative value of the different kinds of capital is questioned” (Bourdieu 1998: 34).

This also accounts for the stylistic unity of goods, judgements of taste, marriage temperaments, embodied dispositions (e.g. ways of walking, talking etc), and other practices that characterise distinct social groups. Thus what one group typically considers right or appropriate, another group may condemn or simply regard as inconsequential. Moreover, habitus operates as both the basis of the reproduction of social differentiation and as the process by which such differences are perceived of as socially legitimate or natural:

“Lifestyles are thus the systematic products of habitus, which, perceived in their mutual relations through the schemes of habitus, become sign systems that are socially qualified (as distinguished, vulgar etc.). The dialectic of conditions and habitus is the basis of an alchemy which transforms the distribution of capital, the balance sheet of a power relation, into a system of perceived differences, distinctive properties, that is, a distribution of symbolic capital, legitimate capital, whose objective truth is misrecognized” (Bourdieu 1984: 172).

Feel for the game

Bourdieu insists that the logic of practice is not structurally deterministic, a “mechanical reaction, directly determined by the antecedent conditions” (1998: 97). Structures are “not immutable” (Bourdieu 1998: 32) and people are not “simple epiphenomena of structure” (Bourdieu 1998: 32). “Habitus is not a fate, not a destiny” (Bourdieu 2002: 29). Rather, the appearance of influential, even seemingly compulsive, social structures emerge from individuals’ practical, dispositional knowledge that produces cohesive enactments that are based on a shared “feel for the game” (Bourdieu 1998: 77). Nevertheless, individuals possessing a certain economic and cultural capital are not “destined, with a given probability, to an educational or social trajectory leading to a given position” (Bourdieu 1984: 111) and a fraction will inevitably “deviate from the trajectory most common for the class as a whole and follow the (higher or lower) trajectory which was most probable for members of another class” (Bourdieu 1984: 111).

McNay develops a similar “generative account of subjectification and agency” (2000: 6) that, like Bourdieu, links past, present and future and which just as importantly links the symbolic with the material in order to explain, in part, why “some types of identity are more durable than others” (McNay 2000: 17). All subjectivities are historically contingent, but some result from deep-seated habitus, prolonged/substantial capital investments, or from influential domination-subjugation dynamics, which can render them markedly resistant to transformation. Nevertheless, the dynamic relation between the habitus and the field, fundamentally between symbolic, embodied dispositions and material or ‘objective’ conditions, essentially means that the “logic of the field may reinforce or displace the tendencies of the habitus. It is this tension that is generative of agency” (McNay 2000: 72). Subjectivity is thus continually created, re-created, negotiated, contested, manipulated, and mediated intersubjectively:

“Individuals do not passively absorb external determinations, but are actively engaged in the interpretation of experience, and therefore, in a process of self-formation” (McNay 2000: 76).

Therefore as a system of transposable dispositions, habitus generates a potentially infinite number of behavioural patterns, which although ‘objectively’ limited⁴⁰ by the field(s) of action nevertheless give:

“Practice a relative autonomy with respect to the external determinations of the immediate present but, at the same time, ensures that is objectively adapted to its outcomes. The temporalization of habitus, expressed in its inseparability from a notion of praxis, is key to understanding how Bourdieu conceptualises it as a generative structure” (McNay 2000: 38).

⁴⁰ Habitus, as generative of perception and action, is both subjective and intersubjective, simultaneously created and existing in the trajectories of individuals, groups (e.g. family, occupational etc), social categories (e.g. gender, ethnicity etc) and the cultural (i.e. widespread or communal dispositions/meaning categories). Habitus thus may appear ‘objective’ in that a person’s goals and desires are often matched with the social position they are likely to achieve. This chiefly results from the fact that habitus from the outset excludes “the most improbable practices [as]... unthinkable” (Bourdieu 1990: 54). Habitus thus contingently enables and limits practice – stressing both continuity and the possibilities of change:

“Because habitus is an infinite capacity for generating products – thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions – whose limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions of its production, the conditioned and conditional freedom it provides is as remote from the creation of unpredictable novelty as it is from simple mechanical reproduction of the original conditioning” (Bourdieu 1995: 43).

The generative structure of habitus is embedded in what Bourdieu calls a double and obscure dialogic relation in which the ‘objective’ conditions of any given field condition and structure habitus, while simultaneously habitus endows any given field with meaning, “sense and value, in which it is worth investing one’s energy” (Bourdieu 1994: 127). As such habitus is a “strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations” (Bourdieu 1977: 72) and therefore significantly orientates, but does not necessarily determine, future action.

Fields of action – metro-rural Martinborough and wine consumption

Social spaces or contexts are what Bourdieu refers to as fields of action that simultaneously construct and reflect the diverse habitus, capital configurations, dispositions, interactions, and competitive struggles for social distinctions that are pursued by different individuals and groups:

“Habitus must not be considered in isolation. Rather, it must be used in relation to the notion of field which contains a principle of dynamics by itself as well as in relation to habitus... every field is inhabited by tensions and contradictions which are at the origin (basis) of conflicts; this means it is simultaneously a field of struggles or competitions that generate change. In such fields, and in the struggles which take place in them, every agent acts according [to] his (sic) position (that is, according [to] the capital he or she possess) and his habitus, related to his personal history” (Bourdieu 2002: 31).

Any field consists of various negotiated social positions and it is from these positions that individuals struggle with each other for control and for valued resources the field encompasses and generates. An individual’s position in a field will legitimate, objectify and naturalise their perspective of a field; their and others’ positions within the field; and the incentives to conserve or transform their position, relative positionings, consequential outcomes, or the field per se (Bourdieu 1998).

Thus the tourists’ leisured consumption of urbane commodities such as wine, and their locale constructions of Martinborough as a metro-rural idyll, constituted fields of action in which their middle class dispositions and capital utilisations are to the fore. This was especially evident in their focus on the picturesque aesthetics of Martinborough as a

rural idyll. A focus on aesthetics is typical of many university educated individuals and especially those with an arts or humanities background (Bourdieu 1984; Campbell 1978). The middle class focus on aesthetics is not, however, merely surface orientated, but is characteristically thought to reflect the individual attainment of valued knowledge, sensibilities and moralities. For example, the aesthetic appreciation of fine art or nouvelle cuisine reflects a contemplative, comparative and analytical intellectualism. Similarly the tourists' idyllic framing of Martinborough provided a bucolic backdrop and simultaneously idealised their leisured and cosmopolitan consumption of fine wines, gourmet foods, and urbane surroundings – thus clearly denoting their distance from necessity and associated aesthetic competencies (Bourdieu 1984).

Likewise the appreciative or connoisseur-like consumption of wine is a field of action in which tourists enact and display their social distinction. A robust appreciation of wine requires knowledge of the variations and nuances of wine, such as the varietal (e.g. between Sauvignon Blanc and Pinot Grigio), vintage, vineyard and wine quality differences. The understanding and capacity to experience such differences denotes a nuanced, intellectual appreciation of variation that is characteristically valued by the middle classes and also points toward a desire for progressive change.

The acquisition, enactment and performative display of such middle class distinction is also part of a conscious, and structurally facilitated project of personal identity construction/ articulation and is closely aligned with, in both form and content, the tourists' pursuit of ideal reflexive individualism. For example, Martinborough tourists displayed and affirmed their ideal reflexive individuality in asserting their personal tastes in wine, in pursuing personalised relationships with homestay operators or wine makers, and in enjoying quality, recreational time with lovers and friends and thereby affirming their reflexive sociability.

However, fields of actions are not uniform and within any field there are always different individuals and groups with particular, potentially conflictual, dispositional/ capital configurations. For example, Martinborough is not simply an idyllic metro-rural locale for the middle class, urbane enactment of social distinction and ideal reflexive individualism. Martinborough is also cast as a rural service town by surrounding

farmers, as a rural and neighbourly hometown by long-time residents, and as a site of production, employment and commerce by wine makers, vineyard workers, retailers, and so on. Each individual and group construct Martinborough as a locale according to their habitus-generated dispositions, which will converge, conflict, amalgamate or change at any given time.

Individuals are socially positioned and ranked by the kinds, volume, structure, comparative weighting and particular configurations of capital they possess relative to others in any field of action and at any given moment in the social trajectory of their lives. In addition, forms of power within any field are not monolithic or singular, nor are they the property of one group. Rather, there is a struggle between different forms of power, essentially between the holders of different volumes and structures of capital, for domination of a field:

“This means, concretely, that the social rank and specific power which agents are assigned in a particular field depend firstly on the specific capital they can mobilize, whatever their additional wealth in other types of capital (though this may also exert an effect of contamination)” (Bourdieu 1994: 113).

A significant struggle, especially amongst dominant groups and individuals, is over the fundamental principles of the organisation of a field (especially the relative weighting, worth, and consequences of different forms of capital deployment) and over the comparative import of differentiated fields. Society then is the sum of all interlinked fields: “An immensely complex web of criss-crossing linkages amongst a multiplicity of *fields* in which various forms of social power now effectively circulate and concentrate” (Wacquant 1989: ix – emphasis in original). Or as Bourdieu states society or the “global social space” (1998: 32) is at once a:

“Field of forces, whose necessity is imposed on agents who are engaged in it, and as a field of struggles within which agents confront each other, with differentiated means and ends according to their position in the structure of the field of forces, thus contributing to conserving or transforming its structure” (1998: 32).

Habitus of place

Place, especially its intentional staging and performative enactment, is undoubtedly significant in the dialogical construction of Martinborough as a wine tourism destination. Tourists typically understood that tourism involves journeying to temporarily reside ‘away from home’ for the purposes of pursuing holiday and recreational pursuits. Thus consideration of Martinborough as a purposely staged locale, and the potential fields of action this represents for tourists’ dispositional, performative practices are important.

Hillier and Rooksby et al (2002) argue that place constructs dynamically emerge through dispositional enactment of individual and group’s different capitals (social, cultural, symbolic and economic). Place constructs thus both reflect and actively reproduce the habitus of any inhabitants and in any place there are potentially a multitude of habitus – entangled, dialogic, convergent, divergent, collusive or conflictual. There are therefore a multitude of Martinborough’s, created by the intersubjective imaginings, desires, perceptions, classifications, values, moralities and practices (social, technological etc) of individuals ranging from long-time residents and farmers through to vineyard owners, workers, tourists and researchers (Bender & Winer 2001; Ching & Creed 1995; Cloke & Little 1997; Tilley 1994; Urry 1995). Place constructs may converge, especially at the level of socio-cultural classification. For example, my subjects’ typically shared a conceptualisation of Wellington as a city and Martinborough as a rural township⁴¹. They may also be divergent as different individuals and groups struggle for place-specific resources and field of action domination. For example, many long-time and permanent residents lamented and attempted to resist touristic projects in Martinborough, such as the gentrification of the town square and pointed to the collapse of the local school-roll as symptomatic of the

⁴¹ There are obvious differences between town and country. Contemporary commercial enterprises in the countryside are characteristically agricultural and often reliant on family labour, populations are smaller and less densely residential, and infrastructural services are often inferior in quantity and quality of provision (Cloke 1997; Moran et al 1993; Newby 1978, 1988). Urban areas are by contrast characterised by manufacturing, service and/or knowledge industries, have large-scale, densely populated inhabitation and ‘enjoy’ a concentration of advanced infrastructural resources (at least in the most affluent districts). But whether urban or rural situated, individuals in both settings yield, often jubilantly, to the yokes of perpetual commodity production (including that of labour, time, information etc), knowledge interrogation, technological innovation, market-expansion, the ever-increasing mobility of capital and labour, the performance dynamics of social distinction and to the central tenets of reflexive individualism

demise of their quiet and neighbourly 'rural community'. Conversely wine makers and others in the tourism industry actively generated and supported development initiatives.

Tourists, together with tourism operators/promoters and wine makers, dialogically and intentionally constructed Martinborough as a metro-rural idyll – that is an idyllic rural locale that provides a bucolic milieu, moral validation and performative setting for their reflexive pursuit of urbane consumption and sociality. In post-industrial societies many places are intentionally constructed, ideationally and materially as settings, in which identities are conceived, created, negotiated and performed (Fiske 1989; MacCannell 1973, 1976; MacDonald 2002; Meinig 1979; Ritzer 1998, 2005; Samuels 1979; Urry 1990, 1995). Many places, and especially consumer/ tourism orientated locales, are thus intentionally staged or themed to evoke particular emotional, social and economic responses (MacCannell 1973, 1976; Ritzer 1998, 2005; Urry 1990, 1995).

Ritzer's analysis of the McDonaldisation of post-industrial society (1998, 2005) notes that the bureaucratisation, routinisation, and predictability of production has led to significant disenchantment. This is evident in consumerism, where many mass-produced products are remarkably similar in form, content, and means of purchase/consumption. To maintain a competitive edge manufacturers and retailers often attempt to differentiate their products through distinctive branding (e.g. the McDonald's 'Golden Arches') or exclusive components (e.g. burgers with special sauce). They also characteristically attempt to re-enchant the consumption experience through the construction of themed spaces that seek to fantasise retail episodes. Thus McDonald's have enchanted in-situ playgrounds for children and a host of endearing characters such as the clown-like Ronald McDonald and Hamburgler, who also promote road safety and food nutrition:

“Many people identify strongly with McDonald's: in fact to some it has become a sacred institution. At the opening of the McDonald's in Moscow, one journalist spoke of it “as it if were the Cathedral in Chartres... a place to experience celestial joy” (Ritzer 1998: 4; see also Moore 1980; Urry 1990, 1995).

The branding, advertising and touristic commodification of Martinborough as a rural idyll firstly creates a stage for the performative rendering of bucolic aesthetics, imaginings, and practices (Cloke & Goodwin 1992: 331), which then provides a moral foundation for the motifs of the enchanted metro-rural idyll. Picturesque vineyards, populated with friendly, urbane winemakers who ‘host’ tourists in rustic-cum-chic wine shops, combine with Martinborough’s sophisticated restaurants, cafés and historic, yet luxurious, homestays and hotel accommodation to provide a leisured setting for the display and narrative expression of the tourists’ personal tastes; the associated reflexivity of purchase and consumption; intentional and idealised sociality; and of their urbane, middle class distinctions. The metro-rural idyll thus re-enchants the tourists’ metropolitan-based ideals and aspirations. Touristic, recreational places are thus “deployed to “re-enchant” commodities and to differentiate them from the derived functionality and homogeneity of standardized products and places” (Cook & Crang 1996: 132).

When places are calculatedly commodified as tourism sites they also characteristically reflect performative and translocated influences:

“[Tourism is] an event that is about mobilising and reconfiguring spaces and places, bringing them into new constellations and therefore transforming them. We are not telling a story of wholes bought into contact or of alien presences but more one of a fragmentary process...We want a sense of performativity of place rather than just performance in place” (Coleman & Crang 2002: 10).

All habitus constructs and enactments of place are likely to be translocally referential (Bender 1993; Bender & Winer 2001; Casey 1993; Tuan 1979; Samuels 1979; Sopher 1979). Thus the rural idyll of Martinborough is, in part, influenced by the tourists’ experiences and expectations of other rural idylls and of other comparatively significant places (e.g. cities). This accounts for a unity of style in individuals’ constructions and enactments of different locales. Not only are specific places constructed in reference to each other to potentially create unity of localities (e.g. rural townships *per se*), but the translocated dispositional habitus of individuals and groups also creates a unity of style or practice within similar places (e.g. people wear gumboots in rural townships). Thus Martinborough’s metro-rural idyll references a number of places important to the tourists and their middle class expectations of rurality, leisured consumerism, tourism

and wine. These include other vernacular rural idylls (historical and contemporary), faux European wineries or neo-modernist residential architecture, and the conspicuous cosmopolitan environs of their city-based urbane consumption such as gourmet restaurants, boutique wine bars, and designer clothing and gift stores. Moreover, the metro-rural idyll both creates and reflects the tourists' middle class habitus and dispositional desire for social distinction, ideal reflexive individuality and for their performative inclinations within fields of action associated with conspicuous, leisured consumption.

Social distinction

Bourdieu also contends that in post-industrial societies, the principal driving force of social reproduction is the struggle for capital (material, economic, social, political, and cultural). Contrary to classical Marxist analysis, Bourdieu contends that an individual's or group's social class (or a fraction thereof) is not only constructed by their "position in the relations of production" (1984: 102) such as the potentially contradictory interests of capitalists or wage-labourers. Rather, social distinctions are constructed through a raft of entangled, constantly evolving circumstances ranging from social origin (i.e. family background), types of formal education, occupational trajectories and access to financial resources, through to aesthetic sensibilities such as tastes in art, music, food and other consumption practices. These practices are further mediated through age, sex, ethnicity etc and through the cause and effect of the "chain of properties" (Bourdieu 1984: 106) that arise from a fundamental property (such as social positions in the relations of production). Bourdieu stresses the constructed, contextual, and comparative nature of distinctions, which are socially recognised as shared, yet dissimilar, social positions and accordant practices within any given field of action:

"[Objective] Social classes do not exist... What exists is a social space, a space of differences, in which classes exist in some sense in a state of virtuality, not as something given but as something to be done" (Bourdieu 1998: 12).

Bourdieu identifies four principal types of capital that are deployed in social distinction – economic, cultural, social, and symbolic – although he contends that in contemporary society the two most important are economic and cultural (1984: 114-115). Economic capital includes monetary wealth, income, financial inheritances, credit lines, and

material assets. Cultural capital can include family background or social origin, educational experience, material goods or tastes, and it exists in three states, embodied (i.e. unconscious, durable psycho-physical dispositions of feeling, thinking etc), objectified (i.e. in the form of cultural objects or goods), and institutionalised (e.g. educational qualifications, vocational associations etc). Social capital is generated through relationships and social connections, including family and various forms of group membership. Symbolic capital refers to objects, practices, dispositions, embodiments, tastes etc generated by the different forms of capital that are recognised as legitimate or authentic markers of social distinction (Bourdieu 1984: 101-116).

For any configuration of capitals to have power within a field, it must be socially validated and legitimated as symbolic capital. Field specific, symbolic capital is any property (economic, physical, cultural, social etc) is “common to all members of a group” (Bourdieu 1998: 103):

“Symbolic capital is attached to groups – or to the names of groups, families, clans, tribes – and is both the instrument and the stakes of collective strategies to conserve or increase it as well as individual strategies seeking to acquire or conserve it, by joining the group which possess it... and by distinguishing themselves from groups which possess little or are destitute” (Bourdieu 1998: 104).

Bourdieu notes that at varied contexts and times (e.g. chronological, changes in occupation or work-related remuneration/status etc) people have different amounts, kinds, and configurations of capital.⁴² Thus the capital deployed in any field is a “social relation, i.e., an energy which exists and only produces its effects in the field in which it is produced and reproduced, each of the properties attached to class is given its value and efficacy by the specific laws of each field” (Bourdieu 1994: 113).

People are thus positioned by the kinds, volume, structure, comparative weighting, and particular configurations of capital they possess at any moment in their life trajectory and in comparison to others in any field of action. In addition, individuals “cannot

⁴² In any given situation a person’s capital varies in two dimensions – volume (i.e. the amount of capital a person or group possesses relative to another) and structure (i.e. the relative situational weighting of the different kinds of capital as a factor in the total volume of capital) – and furthermore, that all forms of capital are subject to change over time in both volume and structure (Bourdieu 1984).

conserve their position, their rarity, their rank except by running to keep their distance from those immediately behind them, thus jeopardizing the difference which distinguishes the group immediately in front” (Bourdieu 1984: 161). There is a marked tendency for individuals and groups to up-class, which is to either improve their social position either by vertical or transverse movements. However, in every instance this is counter-balanced by the down-classing strategies of dominant players in any given field, which often involves their devaluation of the capital deployed by upwardly mobile (Bourdieu 1984).

Most Martinborough’s tourists were aware of, and sensitive toward, the hierarchical ranking of individuals based on differential capitals (e.g. the absence or presence of the of economic capital as manifested in the conspicuous consumption of expensive cars, holiday accommodation etc) and of the associated up/down-classing mechanisms (e.g. increasing one’s social capital by establishing an intimate relationship with a renowned winemaker). The deployment of distancing or down-classing strategies by dominant individuals or groups was not, however, readily apparent in conspicuous consumption settings. This was partly due to the facilitation of ideal reflexive individuality via the social validation of personal tastes and the democratisation of wine consumption, which largely disrupted the notion of a readily identifiable dominant group. It was also due to the variety of situations where contextualised dominance was often finely nuanced and thus readily contestable (e.g. connoisseurship was dominant at serious wine events, but potentially perceived as irrelevant or even denigrated in casual wine consumption settings). Moreover, a socially validated space was routinely opened for strategies and narratives of non-emulation and non-adulation of dominant capitals.

Reflexive Individualism

Beck argues that “institutionalized individualism” (2002: xxii) has become “the social structure of *second modern society*⁴³ *itself*” (2002: xxii –emphasis in original) and is also a significant habitus of Martinborough’s tourists and mostly likely of all individuals in post-industrial societies. Conspicuously enacting or performing the ideal

⁴³ Beck’s notion of the second modern or second modernity highlights the dismemberment and contested flux of knowledge, socio-political unity, social structures etc and the consequential institutionalisation of risk and reflexive individualism in the 20th century. The ‘first modern’ of the 18th and 19th centuries, which was aspirationally founded on the ideal of an “unified world...[and] the regulative idea of a global political order and on the fundamental principles of Western universalism and rationalism” (Beck 2005: 3 – see also Beck 1992)

dispositions of reflexive individualism (see below) is a key marker of middle class distinction (Beck 2002; Campbell 1987; Howland 2004; Frykman & Lofgren 1987).

“Individualization does not by any means imply that the increased freedom of choice is the same thing as a breakdown of order. Rather, what we see here, as elsewhere, is what Talcott Parsons has called ‘institutionalized individualism’” (Beck 2002: 11). Gellner (1983) and Beck (2002) note that individuals in post-industrial societies are systematically compelled to be highly mobile in labour markets, that is to upskill, deskill, qualify, relocate, promote, restructure; to enjoy both the affluence that employment provisions and endure the deprivations of unemployment. Thus “as soon as people enter the labour market, they experience mobility... The labour market, by way of occupational mobility, place of residence or employment, type of employment, as well as the changes in social location it initiates, **reveals itself as a driving force behind the individualization of people’s lives**” (2002: 32-33 – emphasis mine).

Many individuals’ experience of employment and affluence, or alternatively of unemployment and poverty, is variable or transitory⁴⁴. Socio-economic stratification is not, however, removed from the system; indeed the numbers permanently excluded from privilege may be growing. Rather “there is a lot of coming and going in respect of poverty and unemployment” (Beck 2002: 49). Beck notes that a number of researchers subscribe to the notion of the ‘75–15–10 society’, whereby 75% of society are never underprivileged in the period of observation; 15% have been poor once or twice; and 10% have been poor for a prolonged time (i.e. three or more periods of observation). However, the constancy of these percentages can obscure that for many individuals the experience of poverty and unemployment first enters their lives:

“Not as permanent facts but as a less forbidding temporary condition, coming and going and only at certain times becoming more settled... The figures exist. But we do not know where the actual people are. They leave traces: the disconnected telephone; the surprising termination of a club

⁴⁴ In New Zealand the rise of Employment Contracts Act 1991 (which attempted to advantage individual over union negotiated employment contracts), the prevalence of part-time, casual and contractual employment in industries diverse as building construction, Government policy analysis and film-making, and the catch phrase of ‘being between gigs’ – are symptomatic of the introduction of transitory employment structures (Kelsey 1995: 173-206).

membership; the schoolteacher who uses her own money to buy a classroom refrigerator and keeps it well stocked so that the hungry children can eat their fill for once...It is not only the poor but also the rich – leaving aside the handful of super-rich – who are getting on and off” (Beck 2002: 49-50).

Beck also argues that cradle to grave rights and entitlements to everything from welfare support to insurance protection, educational grants, and the labyrinth of governmental regulations (e.g. driver’s licence; property titles etc) are designed for the individual rather than for families or other similar corporate groups:

“The decisive feature of these modern regulations or guidelines is that, far more than earlier, individuals must, in part supply them for themselves, import them into their biographies through their own actions... For modern social advantages one has to do something, to make an active effort. One has to win, know how to assert one-self in the competition for limited resources – and not only once, but day after day” (2002: 2-3).

Reflexive individualisation is also premised on the detraditionalisation of social spaces and an associated “decline of narratives of a given sociability” (Beck 2002: xxi – see also Giddens 1991; Goffman 1969; Sennett 1977), especially in response to the escalating disintegration and fragility of existing social forms such as the family, gender roles, neighbourhood, class and social status, and in the corresponding emphasis placed on an individual’s choices of (inter)subjectivity (Giddens 1991; McNay 2000).

Giddens (1991) also argues that the compulsion of reflexive individualism significantly arises from the Enlightenment project and the perpetual questioning of all knowledge and authority. Life in a ‘detraditionalised’, post-modern world does not necessarily possess a self-evident quality and individuals are increasingly subjected to a tyranny of possibilities. At every turn people are faced with alternatives in thought and action, which of course induces the need for individual decision-making:

“The human being becomes (in a radicalization of Sartre’s meaning) a choice among possibilities, *homo optionis*... Think, calculate, plan, adjust, negotiate, define, revoke (with everything constantly starting again from the beginning): these are imperatives of the ‘precarious freedoms’; that are

taking hold of life as modernity advances” (Beck 2002: 5-6 – emphasis in original; see also Bourdieu 1984; Giddens 1991).

The plurality of choices and the associated pluralisation of “lifestyle sectors” (i.e. the diversification and segmentation of fields of action and associated (inter)subjectivities/positionings - Giddens 1991: 83) thus compels self-reflexivity⁴⁵, that is the conscious comprehension and engagement of various phenomena via self-defined/orientated perceptions, expectations, desires, and significance. Consequently the reflexive self and its manifold subject positionings become a “reflexive project, for which the individual is responsible... We are, not what we are, but what we make of ourselves” (Giddens 1991: 75 – see also Beck 2002).

When knowledge takes the form of hypothesis and is always open to critical revision, where authority is relentlessly multiple, divergent and contested, and where there is a persistent multiplication of potential life-trajectories and (inter)subjectivities, individual decision-making can be fraught with anxiety and uncertainty (Gellner 1983; Giddens 1991). As a consequence strategic lifestyle planning is pervasive and is typically experienced (even by the most oppressed) as a project of self-actualisation. However, fretfulness over decision-making, which characteristically involves anticipatory decision-making and the varied consequences of alternative lifestyles (e.g. occupational, social, economic etc), can thus become a routine occurrence:

“Modernity confronts the individual with a complex diversity of choices and, because it is non-foundational, at the same time offers little help as to which option should be selected. Various consequences tend to follow. One concerns the primacy of lifestyle – and its inevitability for the individual

⁴⁵ A number of theorists have argued that reflexivity is an innate human capacity which produces subjectivity – that is “to become an object to one’s self, to be both subject and object” (Callero 2004: 119 – see also Hall 2004). In this respect, the capacity for reflexion, subjectivity, and agency, which is fundamentally defined by the semiotic processes of personal interpretation, is “both transhistorical and universal, a quality that does not extend to identities” (Callero 2004: 119). Although all subjectivity is ultimately socially ‘organized’ through habitus acquisition, interpretations and enactments, recognition of the universal capacity for individual reflexivity further advances an understanding of the self “as structured in and through discourse without being reduced to it” (Dunn 1997 – quoted in Callero 2004: 120).

agent... we not only follow lifestyles⁴⁶, but in an important sense are forced to do so – we have no choice but to choose.” (Giddens 1991: 80-81).

The normalisation of crisis or change and associated risk-taking is also a characteristic of post-industrial societies. Thus change, especially structured or premeditated (e.g. corporate restructuring, scientific critique etc), and the consequential choices this typically involves, are characteristically perceived as an opportunity for both social progress (Gellner 1983) and ‘personal growth’. The capacity to personally choose between alternatives is highly prized. Thus post-industrial societies can be characterised as risk cultures in which crisis or change is often structural and risk-taking is not only normalised, but is positively valued (Beck 1992, 2002; Giddens 1991; Howland 2001; Rouse 1995).

The institutionalisation of reflexive individualism does not, however, result in unbridled narcissism, especially as the reflexive pursuits, aspirations and ideals of individuals are routinely constructed, compromised, manipulated, and thwarted within the various structures and disciplines of power. As Beck notes the institutionalisation and idealisation of reflexive individualism hegemonically deflects critical reflection away from the structural impediments to personal success,⁴⁷ which are increasingly hidden, obscured or regarded as inconsequential. Ideologically the individual is thus cast as the architect of their own destiny, which ensures that all failure is essentially personalised. “Your own life – your own failure”⁴⁸(Beck 2002: 24).

⁴⁶ “A lifestyle can be defined as a more or less integrated set of practices which an individual embraces, not only because such fulfil utilitarian needs, but because they give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity” (Giddens 1991: 81).

⁴⁷ In addition the structural emphasis on individual reflexivity – while still mediated intersubjectively and thus exposed to myriad forms of hegemonic influence, coercive domination, and/or consequential social stratification – has, nevertheless, resulted in the apparent flattening or blurring of universal markers of social distinction. So, for example, hip-hop and classical music are increasingly regarded as equally ‘legitimate’ cultural capitals, which obviously enjoy higher currency (i.e. greater symbolic capital) in their particular social spheres of performance. Beck further notes that social inequality “is on the rise precisely because of the spread of individualization” (2002: xxiv). However, he notes that the general increase in standard of living, increasing dependence on education, intensified mobility and globalisation, and the specialisation of labour/expertise have resulted in the generalisation and disintegration of segmented social classes in favour of internal differentiations, which require elaborate codes of articulation and differentiation (see also Bourdieu 1984; 1998; Gellner 1983). Thus social divisions and inequities are regarded more as aspects of “exclusion rather than exploitation” (Lash in Beck 2002: xii), while creating, maintaining and signifying social distinction becomes at once a fragile, ambiguous, potentially disrupting, and more incessant reflexive project.

⁴⁸ Moreover, social problems are further perceived “in terms of psychological dispositions: as personal inadequacies, guilt feelings, anxieties, conflicts, and neuroses” (Beck 2002: 39 – see also Giddens 1991).

Reflexive Habitus and Ideal Reflexive Individualism

The emergence of reflexive individuality is not simply a negative response to the decline of communal life and social good (Sennett 1977), alienation, system entropy, or the apocalyptic nature of modernity. Neither should institutionalised reflexive individualism be confused with utilitarian egoism, structural narcissism, or anomic individualism, but rather reflects the adoption of an ethic that upholds the “supreme and intrinsic value, or dignity, of the individual human being” (Lukes 1973: 46). This morality first emerged in the New Testament of Christianity and with the rise of secular society has been transformed into the cult of humanity or sacred individualism (Durkheim (1898) in Lukes 1969; see also Troeltsch 1931). The sovereignty ascribed to the individual is an integral component in the eclecticism and syncretism which characterises the “secret religion of the educated classes” (Campbell 1978: 146).

Thus reflexive individualism is a significant habitus of Martinborough’s tourists who routinely subscribe to an ethos of individual seekership and self-awareness that emerges from their experiential nexus of tertiary education,⁴⁹ occupational mobility and economic affluence (Campbell 1987; Gellner 1983; Frykman & Lofgren 1987; Howland 2004; Sweetman 2003). However, this “reflexive habitus” (Sweetman 2003: 537) which produces self-aware individuals appears to be a contradiction of Bourdieu’s assertion that individuals are fundamentally unconscious of their habitus and this results in “embodied experience that is not immediately amenable to self-fashioning” (McNay 2000: 102). However, as Sweetman notes:

“For some contemporary individuals reflexivity and flexibility is itself deeply embedded, or rather that a capacity for – and predisposition towards – reflexive engagement is characteristic of certain forms of contemporary habitus, and that, while a reflexive stance may *unreflexively adopted*, this by

⁴⁹ The emergence of the universal habitus of reflexive individualism is significantly embedded in the universalisation of formal education that characterises most contemporary post-industrial societies, indeed passing examinations and the award of diplomas is only done on an individual basis (Beck 2002; Bourdieu 1984, 1998; Gellner 1983). Bourdieu also argues that the education system is increasingly important in instilling habitus, as opposed to family background/ enculturation. This is especially so as families (especially those of the upwardly-mobile, middle class professionals) invest more in education (and extra-curricular activities that assist in the acquisition of legitimate cultural capital – e.g. lessons in art, elocution, ballet, horse-riding etc) as a way of increasing their children’s cultural (and social) capital as the successional strategies for directly passing on economic/ social capital have become less successful (Bourdieu 1984; 1998 – see also Beck 2002).

no means rules out such a stance but simply renders it a more durable or stable characteristic of the individuals or groups concerned” (2003: 537 – emphasis in original).

All individuals are reflexive in that they firstly perceive phenomena through their primary senses (Hall 2004), although such perceptions are always mediated through different socio-cultural influences (i.e. family, educational habitus) and are consequently acted upon in diverse ways. In this regard the institutionalisation of individualism has generated a pervasive ethos of reflexive individualism, as opposed to more corporate, socio-centric orientations toward phenomena and associated dispositions of partible personhood (Strathern 1998: 192-207).

However, the reflexive acquisition and deployment of various capitals does not necessarily involve conscious reflection. Lash rightly warns against confusing reflexive with reflective individualism:

“[Reflexive]... has more to do with reflex than reflection. Reflexes are indeterminate. They are immediate. They do not in any sense subsume. Reflexes cope with a world of speed and quick decision-making... The non-linear individual may wish to be reflective but has neither time nor space to reflect. He is a combinard. He puts together networks, constructs alliances, makes deals. He must live, is forced to live in an atmosphere of risk in which knowledge and life-changes are precarious” (in Beck & Gernsheim 2002: ix).

Nevertheless many people, and especially the affluent and well-educated, are increasingly compelled to create, engage, and act upon sociocultural phenomena in terms of criteria (e.g. values, ideals etc) that they perceive are personally pertinent to themselves as self-generated individuals. Accordingly, there is a widespread perception that the social allocation (e.g. familial, community etc) of social roles, and identities are ever less dominant and appropriate, and many individuals correspondingly possess a keen awareness of alternatives, especially in terms of diverse occupational, educational,

consumption, social distinction, residential, sexual, cultural, ethnic, identity, and other life trajectories.⁵⁰

Nevertheless reflexive individuality is often so immediate that it can appear to be instinctive. This is especially evident whenever individuals respond in terms of emotional or personal ‘feel-good’ criteria. In such situations the unconscious enactment of reflexive habitus, albeit via the deployment of individualised (i.e. narratively personalised etc) dispositions, is readily apparent. However, in other situations, such as embarking on a specific course of tertiary study, contemplating which outfit to wear, or what bodily tattoo to acquire many individuals overtly and purposefully plan, plot, and perform. In these circumstances individuals’ reflective capacities, especially in respect of their ‘feel for the game’ of reflexive individualism and for corresponding performative displays, are most obvious. Whether unconscious deployed or reflectively engaged, there is little doubt that in late-modernity, educated, fashion-savvy and affluent individuals are routinely encouraged via a variety of institutional forces to personally negotiate, enact, and perform their intersubjectivities, and in doing so reproduce the institutionalisation of reflexive individualism.

Reflexive individualism is inculcated via a variety of media, including universal, state-sponsored pre-tertiary education⁵¹, commodity advertising⁵² etc. Thus I believe that

⁵⁰ There is not much empirical research on the institutionalisation of individualization. Analysis of Dutch individuals’ experiences and expectations of marriage, childbirth, job choice and trade union and political party membership has, however, shown that the evidence of institutional individualization in the Netherlands is mixed (de Beer 2007). While the research indicated many Dutch individuals have detached themselves from ‘traditional’ institutions like marriage, church, trade unions and political parties, there was no evidence that their institutional ties in general, including voluntary associations, had weakened. An emancipation hypothesis, or that individuals are becoming less predictable, was not supported by the data. Similarly, evidence for increasing heterogeneity of people’s behaviour in respect of choice of educational studies, employment, age of first marriage and a woman’s age of first childbirth, showed successive waves of increasing and decreasing heterogeneity. The research did not, however, analysis more informal institutions, such as friend networks, consumer behaviour, recreational pastimes etc. Furthermore, the research focused on institutional individualisation and not the more generic reflexive desire for, and pursuit of, personal autonomy and freedom of choice as evident amongst Martinborough wine tourists in their consumption and sociality activities.

⁵¹ Approximately 96% of New Zealand children attend state-run primary and secondary schools rather than privately-funded institutions and New Zealand does not boast any ‘private’ universities. In addition, all pre-tertiary schools – state-run and private – are compelled to teach the New Zealand Curriculum/ Te Marautanga o Aotearoa, which is significantly weighted toward teaching many of the attributes of reflexive individualism discussed above. For example, the Curriculum Stocktake Report states that:

“Curricula help develop a **creative and innovative** citizenry, **developing life-long learners** and safeguarding and promoting social cohesion.

Curricula that reflect current **learning theory are flexible**, inclusive and recognise that student learning progresses in the socio-ecological context of the classroom environment.

reflexive individualism is a significant habitus of the majority of middle class and many other individuals in New Zealand and elsewhere. Reflexive individualism thus cuts across many social boundaries, including age, gender, class, ethnicity, religion, nationalism, and so on. Consequently, the social expression of reflexive individuality will vary according to an individual's field-specific capitals, relationships, positionings, and associated distinction strategies. In other words, individuals blessed with high Bourdieuan quotients of economic, educational, and legitimate cultural capital may enact, conspicuously perform, and narratively affirm their ideal reflexive individuality by maintaining personally selected collections of fine art or first-edition classical music collections. Conversely, an individual with low Bourdieuan quotients of economic and educational capital, but high quotients of popular cultural capital, may express their ideal reflexive individuality by maintaining personalised collections of boot-legged

The outcomes of the curriculum can be expressed as both aspirations that reflect higher level thinking, and expectations of what students should learn at different levels.” (Ministry of Education 2002 - emphasis mine)

Moreover, a recent recommendation from the Ministry of Education concerning values in the New Zealand Curriculum stated that:

“Values are **internalised sets of beliefs, or principles of behaviour**, held by individuals or groups and expressed in the way in which people think and act. They are based on our cultural, philosophic and spiritual traditions, and on current critical reflection, dialogue and debate...

Through the curriculum students will gain knowledge of:
the values of the main cultural and institutional traditions of Aotearoa New Zealand and global society;

their own values and the values of others;

a range of value types such as aesthetic, moral, social, cultural and economic.

Through the curriculum students will develop their ability to:

express their own values;

examine with empathy the values of others;

critically analyse values and values-based actions;...

Through the curriculum students will be supported to value:

Diversity – the unique cultures and heritages of Aotearoa New Zealand, and other cultures important to New Zealand society;

Community – **quality relationships**, generosity of spirit and participating for the common good; ...

Inquiry and curiosity - creative, critical and reflective thinking;

Excellence – achievement, perseverance, and resilience” (Ministry of Education 2002 – emphasis mine).

These curricular objectives and values convey a strong sense of reflexive (inter)subjectivity – recognising that individuals are embedded in broad, highly differentiated social and cultural milieus, which at all moments require self-aware engagement, critical analysis and creative negotiation. Encouraging individuals to acquire dynamic ‘life-learning’ and ‘values of one’s own’ is clearly a part of the current New Zealand Curriculum.

⁵² For example, in 2007 Dell Computers launched a “Uniquely you” campaign that emphasised that its mass-produced PC computers were produced to individual’s specific needs and desires. One television advertisement actually depicted an entire factory assembly line halting their production of Dell Computers, while they waited - with baited breath - for an individual consumer’s specific configurations. Then without any obvious irony stated that individuals who purchased their Dell computer on-line would be “automatically” upgraded to a 19-inch screen, presumably in anticipation that all autonomous consumers would personally choose such an option.

rock n' roll or country music and conspicuously indulging in past-times that require little financial expenditure (e.g. body tattoos, sexual dalliances). Thus reflexive individualism is a pervasive habitus that primarily generates ideal dispositions in a wide diversity of individuals and social contexts. The ideals of reflexive individualism are mediated through, and expressed via, other distinct habitus (e.g. ethnicity, religious identity)⁵³ – see Gilbertson 2007; Nilan 2006).

A comprehensive account of the ideal reflexive individuality emerges, and is reflected, within the habitus of universal and tertiary education, and also within an array of occupational, consumption (see below), ethical⁵⁴ and political/ regulatory habitus. Thus ideal individual is one who, besides being contemplative and self-aware, also possesses a number of constantly evolving dispositions that are significantly aligned with, and necessary for competency within, the varied economic, social, political, and knowledge structures of high modernity. The ideal reflexive individual is constituted as:

- Highly differentiated or unique;
- Intentionally autonomous in thought and action, including maintenance of good physicality and aesthetic appearance;
- Aware of, and embraces, self as a series of self-generated/negotiated (inter)subjective and multi-contextual social positions, roles, statuses etc;
- Regards selfhood as a series of intentionally generated and negotiated life-trajectories and phases;
- Able to articulate their (inter)subjectivity as a series of autobiographical narratives that validate and affirm a coherent, progressive, and praiseworthy notions of self;

⁵³ Both Gilbertson (2007) and Nilan (2006) examine the reflexive constitution of ethnic identity. Gilbertson describes how individual choice, and associated “self-reflexive ethnicity” (2007: 96), amongst New Zealand-born Gujarati youth in Wellington, New Zealand, is perceived to be a paramount variable in their constructs of ethnicity, including the personal adoption of collective or group notions of Indian ethnicity. Nilan examines how devout Muslim youth in Indonesia adopt a personally selective filtering approach to popular culture, retaining positive aspects of Western modernity and marginalizing those aspects that are culturally inappropriate. Nilan describes this as an example of “self conscious construction of a reflexive biography” (2006: 108).

⁵⁴ For example, Giddens argues that shame, which he defines as public humiliation resulting from an individual’s wrongdoing, is a more important ethical consideration for the reflexive self than guilt (individual feelings of wrongdoing). Essentially the former contests or invalidates an individual’s autobiographical narratives of the “self as I want to be” (1991: 68) and thus creates “anxiety about the adequacy” (1991: 65) of such narratives, whereas the latter can remain essentially private or unarticulated. Beck notes that a new ethics has emerged in which the ‘duty to oneself’ is paramount, especially in respect of “self-enlightenment and self-liberation as active processes to be accomplished in their own lives, including the search for own social ties in family, workplace and politics” (2002: 38).

- Attentive of the biographical narratives of themselves produced by others and in kind, actively creates intersubjective biographies of others;
- Actively interprets, positions, and generates self in relation to various socio-cultural narratives (e.g. scientific knowledge; religious beliefs, political movements etc);
- Progressive or purposely dedicated to self-improvement and constructively uses autobiographical narratives (both positive and negative) as constitutive, coherent C.V. experiences from which to plot a personally progressive, beneficial future;
- Adept, creative and dynamic especially in changing circumstances, when faced with novelty or diversity etc. Better still, positively embraces, and creates such situations when perceived as opportunities for self-development/improvement⁵⁵;
- Intersubjectively judicious in that they are capable of forming and maintaining rewarding social networks (hopefully empathetically so) across a diversity of social spaces. Similarly capable of forming a number of intimate and satisfying pure relationships;
- Proficient in using both rational evaluations and subjective passion where appropriate (Beck 2002; Campbell 1978, 1987; Gellner 1983; Giddens 1991; Lukes 1973).

Ideal reflexive individuality is thus socially cast as a checklist of model dispositions that people draw upon to construct and evaluate the efficacy of their specific capital investments (e.g. cultural, economic, social, symbolic) in a variety of fields of action ranging from gangster rap to the connoisseurship of fine wine. Thus one would expect that an individual educated to tertiary level and employed in professional or knowledge sectors to be more likely to engage in reflective, analytical reflexivity than someone educated to primary level and employed in working class occupations, who might contrastingly be more inclined toward emotive (i.e. ‘feel-good’) reflexivity. However, in all instances the primary emphasis is on creating and affirming one’s personalised tastes, values, narratives, and spheres of conspicuous practice. Thus the ideal reflexive

⁵⁵ In this respect a desire for novelty, although potentially transformatory, is more typically constructive (and hence conservative) in terms of established habitus dispositions – either intersubjectively inculcated (e.g. via schooling, parental influence etc) and/or reflexively constructed and aspired to.

individual should preferably experience unencumbered thought and action. There should also be a direct association between their unconscious motivations and/or conscious practices and the social recognition and reward (recompense, status etc) they are bestowed. In many respects contemporary celebrities such as rock stars, actors, and sports stars represent the ideal reflexive self in that their efforts, talents and skills are widely acknowledged, celebrated, and rewarded, and they are widely believed to have purposeful control over their own destinies, especially in terms of career development, bodily aesthetics, intimate relationships etc.

The frustrated reflexive individual

While many strive to achieve ideal reflexive individuality in their occupational, domestic and other social experiences their best efforts are often unrecognized, unappreciated, and unrewarded. Many individuals thus experience abiding frustration that is, in part, reflected in their complaints about corporate or institutional anonymity, occupational glass-ceilings, capricious friendships, loveless marriages, ungrateful offspring, and various Governmental/civic obligations or impositions (e.g. taxes, jury duty etc); all of which may undermine, or at least highlight the limitations of, the celebratory acknowledgement and ideal autonomy of the reflexive individual (Howland 2004).

Bauman (2000) argues that this predicament results from a fissure between *de jure* autonomy (i.e. the individuality assigned by society, especially in terms of identities and roles) and *de facto* autonomy (i.e. actual freedom to make choices). He argues that casting individuals as wholly responsible for their life choices is founded on the ideological presumption that a person has the right and capacity to choose freely. There exists, however, a growing gap between “individuality as fate and individuality as the practical and realistic capacity for self-assertion” (2000: 34). This fissure forms the principal contradiction of “liquid modernity” (2000: 38) and accordingly *de facto* individuality is a privilege experienced by a minority who possess the necessary economic, social, and cultural resources to enable tangible and persistent enactment of personal choices. Thus the middle class, steeped in the ideals of *de facto* individualism yet simultaneously subjected to routine *de jure* constriction and structurally vulnerable to the anxieties of up/down-classing, perhaps experience the fissure most keenly.

The production of autobiographical and other narratives that emphasise a coherent, autonomous and praiseworthy self can, however, significantly reduce such tensions and potentially reconcile the rupture between *de jure* and *de facto* autonomy. Many tourist conversations were punctuated with accounts that emphasized their anxiety or dissatisfaction with context-specific denial of their personal efforts, aspirations and desires. For example, tourists often discussed their occupational frustrations⁵⁶, with one, a policy analyst from Wellington (female, mid 30's), stating that their Martinborough weekend was a '*treat to themselves*' after being '*unfairly overlooked*' for a promotion. Such narratives and practices emphasise self-gifting, thereby demonstrating a reflexive and often calculative awareness (Appadurai 1986) of the self as an intentionally assembled persona that is contextually differentiated (Goffman 1969). They also promote the notion that one contextualized self (e.g. leisured or recreational) may reward or compensate another self (e.g. occupational self) for contextual successes or sacrifices. In emphasizing dissatisfaction and the denial of *de facto* autonomy or aspirations, self-gifting also serves to highlight the pervasive idealisation of reflexive individualism. Thus as reciprocal gifting significantly reproduces the social structures of kinship and ancestor-based societies (Mauss 2004), the self-gifting of reflexive individuals similarly contributes to the institutional reproduction of individualism and reflexivity of late-modern societies.

Compelled to engage a reflexive habitus and embedded within webs of dispositional desire for lifestyle choice, many individuals nevertheless have little control over the range and consequences of the choices available to them. The institutionalisation of reflexive individualism does not equate with unmitigated free choice, but rather "people are condemned to individualization" (Beck 1994: 15). Although people are increasingly dependent on, and must constantly negotiate with, abstract institutions (e.g. educational,

⁵⁶ Although ideal reflexive individuality is routinely enabled in many fields of employment (especially amongst the professional new middle classes), it is also habitually impeded or denied. Much employment is bureaucratic, highly-specialised, repetitive, and humdrum, with restrictive skill content and limited scope for individual creativity. Further, most individual labour is fragmented and alienated from the decision-making 'totalities' of production and distribution (Carrier 1990). Also the measures, means and individual recipients of occupational success are subject to continual contestment and are the basis of much status anxiety in contemporary society. Nevertheless, although constant re-training, re-structuring, and accordant re-orientation of institutional/ personal goals are a constant feature of post-industrial employment (Gellner 1983), many individuals take a pragmatic perspective – striving to do their best, largely accepting their lot and never losing hope that with a little bit of luck (Howland 2001; Rouse 1995) or better self-management in the future (Giddens 1991), they will ultimately triumph.

economic, legal etc) that exist largely beyond their control, this has ironically resulted in a standardisation of lifestyles and associated enactments of reflexive individualism:

“A life of one’s own is not a life peculiar to oneself. In fact the opposite is true; a standardized life is produced that combines both achievement and justice and in which the interest of the individual and rationalized society are merged... This is what I call the paradox of ‘institutional individualism’” (Beck 2002: 23).

In response to these various tensions and frustrations, it is not surprising therefore that many are drawn toward fields of action where they perceive the greatest capacity for *de facto* autonomy or reflexive choice (e.g. life politics,⁵⁷ occupational pathways, educational development, and body image/ornamentation⁵⁸). With Martinborough’s tourists this was most obvious in the realms of conspicuous consumption, reflexive sociality and in the articulation of public narratives that affirmed a praiseworthy self and also constructed notions of reflexive distinction.

Ideal reflexive individuality and narrative affirmation

Troubled by a variety of structural ambiguities that can demean one’s self-identity and praiseworthiness, many individuals attempt to overcome persistent feelings of reflexive anxiety through the active creation of auto-biographical narratives that emphasise an autonomous, coherent and authentic self:

“Self-identity, as a coherent phenomenon, presumes a narrative: the narrative of the self is made explicit... Autobiography – particularly in the broad sense of an interpretative self-history produced by the individual concerned, whether written down or not, is actually at the core of self-identity in modern social life... Personal integrity, as the achievement of an

⁵⁷ Social movements – that were historically associated with groups who enacted and recognised shared or communal interests (e.g. unions, political parties etc) – are increasingly being replaced by what Giddens terms “life politics” (1991: 209), in which the “**individualization of social risks**... [occurs whenever] social crises appear as individual crises, which are no longer (or only very indirectly) perceived in terms of their rootedness in the social realm” (Beck 2002: 39-40 – emphasis in original).

⁵⁸ Not only is the reflexive individual charged with being highly aware and responsive to the shifting intersubjective dialogics of the self-context-others nexus, but they also face a barrage of competing messages about ideal bodily appearance and life trajectory management regimes – the attainment of which is perceived to require significant individual devotion to constant body monitoring/ manipulation and active lifestyle control (Giddens 1991).

authentic self, comes from integrating life experiences within the narrative of self development” (Giddens 1991: 80).

“The self has unity, but it is the dynamic unity of narrative which attempts to integrate permanence in time with its contrary, namely diversity, variability, discontinuity and instability... Identity is neither completely in flux nor static; it has the dynamic unity of narrative configuration” (McNay 2000: 89).

The ideal of *de facto* autonomy, of disentangling the ‘authentic self’ from *de jure* selves, not only involves the active strategising of life-choices and associated risk-taking, but is also potentially accomplished through the production of autobiographical narratives (see also Beck 2002; Gellner 1983; Goffman 1969). These autobiographies are typically retrospective and anticipatory, and include narrative tropes that range from the elective, risk, justificatory, effective, idealistic, to the imaginative and fictive (Beck 2002). McNay (2000) notes that self-identity narratives are generative and partial, especially as they must creatively incorporate the coherency of remembered and novel experiences. Such narratives also typically contain the imagining of a different self that provides an “anticipatory consciousness” (2000: 99) as a basis for future action. Thus (inter)subjective coherence does not emanate from an essential, static core self, but rather “as the privileged medium through which inherent temporality of being is expressed... In other words, narrative is not regarded as determining but as generative of a form of self-identity which itself is neither freely willed nor externally imposed” (McNay 2000: 85).

Many individuals thus deploy intentional “impression management”⁵⁹ (Cahill 1998: 144) regimes, which include autobiographical narratives that highlight their ideal

⁵⁹ Individuals are compelled to literally ‘put their best foot forward’ – that is to actively construct, articulate, and negotiate the dynamics individual and social ideals. This produces a situation whereby the ideal person is seen as one who purposefully plots and manages their chosen way through a shifting kaleidoscope of possibilities (and who also actively creates possibilities). Consequently, people who lack self-reflexion; self-control; who are not inspired to progressively evolve; or who are ‘too dependent’ on others, institutions (e.g. religion, civil bureaucracy, alcohol, drugs, food etc) are often regarded as ‘weak’, ‘narrow-minded’ or ‘flawed’ - though redemption is always available in terms of self-help books, groups and therapies (Giddens 1991).

reflexive and socially distinct individuality and associated performative practices that emphasise appropriate personal appearances, demeanours and lifestyles:

“Thus, the public person is not made in the image of a unique [and ideal] self: rather, an interpretative picture of the unique [and ideal] self is made in the image of the public person” (Cahill 1998: 137).

Such narratives and performative displays are sometimes acts of “fictive story telling” (Snow & Anderson 1993 quoted in Callero 2003: 124), which contradict an individual’s actual achievements or experiences and thus attempt to sustain a positive, coherent autobiography and to act as a foil to public admissions or inscriptions of defeat or failure. As noted, Martinborough’s tourists constantly expressed, and were structurally encouraged to articulate narratives and deploy performative displays that publicly asserted, affirmed and validated their personal tastes, ideal reflexive individuality and middle class distinction. They also constructed narratives of reflexive distinction, which simultaneously underscored collective notions of social distinction and their personal orientations towards the mechanisms of up/down-classing and consequential status hierarchies.

Reflexive Sociality

Contemporary morality that emphasises that neo-romantic and individualised quest for personal pleasure (Campbell 1987) is a general ethos of post-industrial existence where almost everything from occupations to knowledge paradigms, consumerist activities and social relationships are subjected to reflexive ‘feel good’ critiques, evaluations and engagements. This is especially evident in the formation and maintenance of reflexive and intentionally negotiated sociality, especially in the form of friendship, romantic relationships, “plastic sexuality” (i.e. sexual relations freed from the “need of reproduction” - Giddens 1992: 2) and in a variety of familial relations (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 1995, 2002; Giddens 1992; Pahl & Spencer 2004; Rose & Budgeon 2004).

The economic and social emancipation of women, together with the increasing social significance of institutionalised reflexive individuality, has significantly destabilised heterosexual binaries and associated familial and gender practices in post-industrial societies:

“Contemporary world processes of individualization and detraditionalisation and increased self-reflexivity... [which] are opening up new possibilities and

expectations in heterosexual relationships... as social ties become reflexive, and individualization increasingly characterizes relations among members of the same family, we are moving into a world of the ‘post-familial family’” (Rose & Budgeon 2004: 139-140).

Interpersonal intimacy and care are core variables of diverse, fluid forms of contemporary families or post-familial life projects (heterosexual, homosexual, sole parent, friendship-based etc). Post-familial families are thus often characterised by “interrelated processes of *centring on friendship* and *decentring sexual relationships*. A strong emphasis on the value of friendship, on choosing to surround themselves with a network of friends...[and] a deliberate de-emphasizing of the importance of conjugal relationships” (2004: 146 – emphasis in original).

Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (1995) argue that contemporary forms of love, and especially of one’s romantic partners and one’s children, are a secular religion that is reflexively generated and negotiated. Such relationships are not necessarily justified along “traditional or formal lines [of family, religion etc]” (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 1995: 192), but rather via “emotional and individual ones. It originates in what we experience, in our personal hopes and fears rather than in any superior power. The lovers, and only they, are in charge of what is true and right in their love... In operational terms this means that no one except the lovers can decide whether they are in love” (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 1995: 192). Contemporary forms of reflexive love thus operate as “our alternative to doubt: it is the place we hope to find security” (1995: 192).

Giddens argues that the emergence of “confluent love” (1992: 2), which is a relationship of sexual and emotional equality between lovers, is underscored by the basic trust that characterises all “pure relationships” (Giddens 1991: 87) in post-industrial societies. In post-industrial societies most civil, contractual and institutionally mediated social interactions are founded on basic trust between the participating parties of which “pure relationships” (1991: 87) represent the epitome. Pure relationships may be encountered anywhere, for example, with a respected medical doctor, although they are principally valued for what they provide the reflexive subject. Reflexive sociality is not, however, merely focussed on ‘finding one’s self’ through experiencing a pure relationship with an affirming ‘other’. Rather such relationships are highly valued in post-industrial societies as they ideally incorporate pervasive structures of basic (and

mutual) trust. Nevertheless, if perceived to be non-beneficial to reflexive individual, or if the mutual trust is disrupted, a pure relationship may be quickly and easily jettisoned. Relationships based on confluent love are also significantly influenced by the emergence and positive valuation of “plastic sexuality” (Giddens 1991: 2). Giddens thus identifies lesbians and gay men as pioneers in the development of intimate (romantic and sexualised) pure relationships underscored by a mutuality of basic trust.

Reflexive and intimate relations are, however, as conflict ridden and contradictory as any other form of social interaction. Given the high rates of separation and marital divorce in post-industrial societies (Beck 2002; Giddens 1991) and the often transitory nature of friendships, all of which is partially due to the geographical, occupational and social mobility of individualised persons (Gellner 1983), it is clear that the ideal of enduring, constructive and trustful forms of intimate social connectedness is under constant threat. Accordingly, the active negotiation, maintenance, enhancement or even fraudulent display of valued reflexive sociality, and the constant referencing of ideal sociality (e.g. celebrity couples, collective ideals of family etc), are an integral part of reflexive individuality. Even when there exists a pragmatic realisation that the ideal, in both intimate sociality and of the self, cannot necessarily be attained or even consistently maintained, the narratives and practices of reflexive sociality may still function to corroborate autobiographical narratives of the ‘authentic’ self (i.e. a sort of ‘nobody knows me better than...’ discourse). Within intimate pure relationships the creation of tightly bound and shared histories of the biographical other and autobiographical self are routinely deployed to negotiate one’s role in associated social orders (e.g. kinship obligations) and in reflexive projects of identity and social distinction. Reflexive sociality thus involves the deployment of social capital and may significantly represent an affirmation and validation of the reflexive self. Social connectedness with an apparently equally reflexive and autonomous other in a highly individualised society fundamentally functions as a public statement of one’s reflexive and social worth. Thus one’s ability to attract the constructive attention of an esteemed other (i.e. good-looking, economically successful, socially influential etc), whether at an intimate or institutional (e.g. celebrity status) level, may clearly make a social statement about the exalted self. By way of contrast, attracting or tolerating the attention of an unworthy other may make a similar statement about the unworthiness of self.

For example, many Martinborough tourists were motivated to personalise their acts of purchase by getting to know winemakers, homestay operators, or other locally renowned producers and retailers, so that interactions transcended the typical contractual necessities (e.g. price, quality, monetary exchange etc) of commodity purchase. Typically this included reciprocal discussions about the weather, one's family, work and social events such as intended holidays or other entertainments. This represented attempts by tourists and others to transcend the often alienated, contractual, and socially sterile aspects of commodity purchase (Carrier 1990, 1994; Howland 2004) and to therefore enhance their social capital. Many tourists felt they received better or special service from commodity providers. Ultimately, however, the personalization of product, purchase, and consumption dialogically asserted the reflexive personalities of both producer and consumer. Tourists essentially attempted to turn conventional acts of market purchase into faux gift exchanges (Carrier 1990; Hermann 1997), that is exchange between named/known producers and consumers, and were thus engineering performative opportunities to express and validate a reflexive nexus of choice, taste, distinction, sociability and ideal individuality.

Conspicuous displays of idealised, intentional and intimate relationships, which characterise much of the touristic sociality in Martinborough, clearly represent assertions of exalted and authentic individuality. The value placed on social connectedness with an esteemed and ideal reflexive other explains why so many tourists desired friendly relationships with renowned winemakers. It also explains why so many tourists, despite their romantic idolisation of rural families, holidayed without their dependent children. Contexts where adult leisure and accordant experiences of reflexive individuality are paramount (e.g. wine consumption, adult conversational settings) the demands of and obligations towards dependent children can limit caregivers' personal choices and their capacity for autonomous and spontaneous activity. Accordingly, holidaying without dependent children offers the potential to optimise one's experiences and performative displays of ideal reflexive individuality, sociality and social distinction.

Reflexive consumption and social distinction

Faced with uncertainty, risk, and even repeated failure, the ideals of reflexive individualism are not necessarily jettisoned or even subjected to critical analysis concerning structural impediments to its realisation. Instead many people gravitate, indeed are extolled by a throng of product advertisers, to the arenas of consumption and leisure where they perceive that they can repeatedly enact personal choices, experience optimal autonomy and thus reflexively express their authentic selves (Campbell 1983, 1987; Howland 2004; McCracken 1990; Rojek 2000; Williamson 1978). Consequently production has been increasingly orientated toward the reflexive commodification of goods and services: “Not only has consumption become increasingly individualised, but consumer culture demands reflexivity” (Sweetman 2003: 539).

For example, many express themselves by purposefully maintaining a personal style via their consumption of clothing, physical appearance, ornamentation and interior design of domestic spaces, and their pursuit of particular recreational or sporting activities. Some even prospectively plan their funerals and remembrance paradigms (Howland 2004). Through possession, exchange, grooming and divestment rituals (McCracken 1990: 83-89 - see also Carrier 1990, 1994; Featherston 1991) individuals reflexively deploy commodities (including mass-produced goods, services, or events) to engage in an "on-going enterprise of self-creation" (McCracken 1990: 88) that draws upon existing, yet dynamic, intersubjective meanings and values that have been attached to commodities via advertising and fashion narratives (McCracken 1990: 71- 89).

Campbell argues that post-industrial consumption is saturated with ideas of “unlimited good” (1983: 21) via the normalisation and anticipation of the ever-increasing and progressive development of production, markets and commodities. Thus “everyone not only expects to better himself but it is considered immoral not to strive to do so; this means an obligation to seek out and satisfy new “wants” (1983: 281; see also Featherston 1991; Gellner 1983). This ethos is closely linked to the emancipatory notions of social emulation and intra/inter-class mobility (Bourdieu 1984) and also embodies the principle of “consumer sovereignty” (1983: 281) that articulates the autonomy of the ideal reflexive individual. In addition, the spirit of modern consumerism is marked by a “quest for ever more novel and varied consumptive

experiences as an end-in-itself. It is the desire to desire, the wanting to want which is its hallmark” (1983: 282).

Campbell also argues that Romanticism and the associated cult of sensibility⁶⁰ laid the foundations for, and continues to inform, modern forms of hedonism, which like contemporary consumerism emphasise the primacy of individual engagement, expression and development, an endless quest for novelty, and the importance of emotive experiences and evaluations. At the core of modern hedonism and consumption is the personal quest for pleasure: “Modern hedonism is marked... by a preoccupation with ‘pleasure’, envisaged as a potential quality of all experience” (1987: 203).

Consumption at a fundamental level involves the social exchange and use of goods that “are part of a live information system” (Douglas & Isherwood 1996: 10) that is deployed by individuals to make:

“Visible and stable the categories of culture... [to] make and maintain social relationships... Forget that commodities are good for eating, clothing and shelter; forget their usefulness and try instead the idea that commodities are

⁶⁰ Campbell (1983, 1987) contends that modern consumerism is largely informed by the ideologies of Romanticism that emerged in Western Europe (especially in France, Germany and England) around 1750-1850 as a reaction against the influence of abstract reason and science of the Enlightenment and the alienating (social and productive) consequences of the Industrial Revolution. Romanticism - most noticeably through the creed of the artist, which influenced the emergent middle classes via media such as the romantic novel – emphasised the “primacy of feeling, the cult of the individual, a new appreciation of nature and the primitive, the exploration of the unconscious and a fascination with the supernatural” (Campbell 1983: 285). Ironically, Campbell (1987) traces the origins of romanticism and the spirit of the modern consumer to their apparent antithesis in puritan realms of orthodox Protestantism Ethics, which at first glance appear to deny the social efficacy of emotive responses, hedonistic disbursements, and of course, demands allegiance to a transcendent, godly power. Nevertheless, both Protestantism and Romanticism both privilege the individual as a distinct being. Moreover, later Protestants such as the Calvinists believed in the virtue of benevolence as manifested in charitable and empathetic feelings of pity and sympathy for the downtrodden and this significantly formed the basis of an “emotionalist deistic ethic” (1987: 204). Essentially this shift in ethos influenced the emergence of secular Sentimentalism and promoted the enjoyment of emotions for their own inherent pleasure. Thus Romanticism emerged from the decay of eschatological belief systems to insist not only “that every human being is a distinct and autonomous entity” (Campbell 1983: 285), but to also assert the uniqueness of personality and the efficacy of stimulative and gratifying personal experience as “an ethical activity, an aspect of duty” (Campbell 1983: 286). Furthermore, the self was to be liberated (from restrictive social conventions), invigorated, and progressed through the experiencing of novel situations that stimulated strong (especially pleasurable) feelings:

“Instead of individuals improving themselves in this world through hard work, discipline and self-denial they substituted the idea of individuals “expressing” or “realising” themselves through exposure to powerful feelings and by means of many and varied intense experiences” (Campbell 1983: 287).

good for thinking; treat them as a nonverbal medium for human creative faculty” (Douglas & Isherwood 1996: 59-60, 62).

Miller⁶¹ maintains that objects are “potentially more expressive than human language”⁶² (1987: 98), although they are a less efficient means of communication as control over their interpretation is not as restricted.⁶³ Objects surpass the inadequacies and crudity of language, hence our ability to make fine perceptual discriminations between objects that largely transcend sophisticated linguistic description (e.g. the multitudinous differences that connoisseurs may detect in the taste of Pinot Gris and Riesling).

Thus intersubjective and interdependent acts of production, consumption, distribution and exchange of both ‘natural’ (i.e. unmodified) things and manufactured artefacts serve to socially objectify our nuanced existences:

“Consumption activity is the joint production with fellow consumers, of a universe of values. Consumption uses goods to make firm and visible a particular set of judgements in the fluid processes of classifying persons and events...Within the available time and space the individual uses consumption to say something about himself, his [sic] family, his locality, whether in town or country, on vacation or at home...treat goods then as markers, the visible bit of the iceberg which is the whole social process.

⁶¹ Miller (1987) argues that all culture is an incessant process of creative objectification (i.e. self-externalisation and alienation), sublation (self-absorption) and ultimately subjectification of meaning. Thus objects or things are especially adroit at conveying (and receiving – see Appadurai 1986) polysemic messages. Miller thus contends that our awareness and manipulation of objects plays a crucial role in the development of our early (pre-language) cognitive abilities and continue to function to naturalise the ways in which we perceive, understand and live in the world:

“The absolute necessity of culture for the establishment of all human relations discredits the idea that the relationship between people and the things they construct in the physical world is separable from some prior form of social relation” (Miller 1987: 13).

⁶² All language is an abstraction, which is constrained/ enabled by grammatical structure and which subordinates the object qualities of things to “word-like properties” (Miller 1987: 96), which most often fail to acknowledge their particular construction of the ‘subject-object’. Moreover, language is a discursive process in which independent components derive overall meaning from sequential articulation.

⁶³ By contrast, objects – many of which are presentational forms (e.g. art, ‘natural’ objects etc) through which we typically objectify our feelings – may have no inherent or independently meaningful divisions and thus must be understood “all at once, rather than sequentially, and there is nothing equivalent to grammatical structure underlying it” (1987: 97). Some objects operate as token-types (e.g. a steel bar, chair etc) and therefore represent the grammar of larger categories of similar objects, or are so everyday and mundane that they do not necessarily attract a contemplative or emotive gaze.

Goods are used for marking in the sense of classifying categories” (Douglas & Isherwood 1996: 67-68, 74).

Accordingly social salience can be significantly assessed via the character (including performers, types of exchange etc), timing, scale and visibility of material transactions. Consumption thus actively creates time, space, cultural meanings/categories, social contexts/ personas/ relationships and distinctions (Appadurai 1996; Douglas & Isherwood 1996; Friedman 1994; Kopytoff 1986; Miller 1987):

“Goods are neutral, their uses are social; they can be used as fences or bridges... Take them out of human intercourse and you have dismantled the whole thing. In being offered, accepted or refused, they either reinforce or undermine existing boundaries” (Douglas & Isherwood 1996:12 & 72; see also Appadurai 1986; Bourdieu 1984; Miller 1987; McCracken 1990).

Bourdieu similarly contends that the consumption of goods, especially those that appear to be taste or lifestyle-orientated (i.e. preferences in clothing, music, food etc), are generated within individual and group habitus. Consumption thus creates and signifies dispositional orientations for socially distinctive aesthetics, values, and moralities:

“The habitus is of necessity internalised and converted into a disposition that generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions; it is a general, transposable disposition which carries out a systematic, universal application... That is why an agent’s whole set of practices (or those of a whole set of agents produced by similar conditions) are both systematic, inasmuch as they are the product of the application of identical (or interchangeable) schemes, and systematically distinct from the practices constituting another life-style... Life-styles are thus the systematic products of habitus” (1984: 170, 173).

The emulation of a particular clusters of lifestyle practices associated with a socially exclusive group, for example, eating sugar (Mintz 1985) or smoking (McCracken 1990), often prompts members of the copied group to reconfigure the values and meanings they had attached to their emulated disposition, or to simply abandon it

altogether. This characteristic response to social emulation highlights the shortcomings of simple emulation or trickle-down models of social distinction.⁶⁴

Leisured consumption

Although questions of compulsion, discipline, exclusion, disillusionment and resistance are persistently raised by post-industrial consumption practice (Appadurai 1996; Campbell 1987), discretionary forms of consumption (i.e. of luxuries, recreation etc as opposed to everyday/ domestic requirements) are routinely perceived of as quintessential leisured activities. They are cast as ‘not work’ and thus often engaged as ‘retail therapy’ through which one is personally reinvigorated:

“Consumption evolves as the phenomenological marker of time left over from work, produced by work, and justified by work. Leisure activities become the very definition of discretionary consumption, and consumption becomes the process that creates the conditions for renewed labour or entrepreneurial energy required for production. Thus, consumption is seen as the required interval between periods of production” (Appadurai 1996: 79).

Many individuals in post-industrial societies believe that leisured consumption is compartmentalised from occupational employment (Bourdieu 1984; Rojek 1995, 1999). Many also contrast the perceived reflexive autonomy of leisured consumption with the restrictions of occupational employment⁶⁵, government regulation, domestic or familial responsibilities, and with obligatory participation in community/state institutions (Beck 2002; Giddens 1991; Howland 2004). Thus leisured consumption is believed to provide

⁶⁴ Bourdieu (1984) and Veblen (1925) have noted that the desire to up-class significantly drives the consumption competition for social rank and status. However, a number of theorists have argued that contests for distinction are not universally driven by the Veblenesque desire to conspicuously emulate the tastes, manners, leisure, and consumption of the social elite. Firstly, not all consumption or leisure is conspicuous; consumption (conspicuous and private) is habitus generated and thus conservatively reproduces inculcated and differentiated social distinctions; upclassing emulation can often be incorporated into established distinction frameworks and hence does not necessarily invoke desires for imitative goods or services; those at the apex of social hierarchies can not structurally emulate anyone higher, but nevertheless still engage in dynamic consumption patterns; and in post-industrial societies, which are characterised by diverse and multiple elite groups, just who is one supposed to emulate? Moreover, while social distinction may sometimes involve emulation of a superior class, post-industrial consumption is just as importantly garnered by the pursuit of novel tastes as it is by the retention of conventional tastes (Bourdieu 1984; Carrier 1990; Campbell 1983; McCracken 1990; Miller 1987).

⁶⁵ Although as Rojek (1995) notes many successful individuals (e.g. Bill Gates etc) appear to value work or employment above leisure or ‘non-work’ and thus often gain much of their enjoyment/pleasure from pursuing additional and/or stimulating work activities.

fertile opportunities to express the ideal reflexive self and for the performative display of one's affluence, tastes and social distinctions via acts of lifestyle consumption (Bourdieu 1984; Miller 1987):

“Economic power is first and foremost a power to keep economic necessity at arm's length... As the objective distance from necessity grows, life-style increasingly becomes the product of what Weber calls a ‘stylization of life’, a systematic commitment which orients and organizes the most diverse practices – the choice of a vintage or a cheese or the decoration of a holiday home in the country. This affirmation of power over a dominated necessity always implies a claim to a legitimate superiority over those who, because they cannot assert the same contempt for contingencies in gratuitous luxury and conspicuous consumption, remain dominated by ordinary interests and urgencies. Objectively and subjectively aesthetic stances adopted in matters like cosmetics, clothing and home decoration are opportunities to experience or assert one's position in social space, as a rank to be upheld or a distance to be kept” (Bourdieu 1984:55-56).

There is also a marked tendency for leisured consumption in post-industrial societies to be undertaken in performative or “expressive environments” (Miller 1987: 6 – see also Coleman and Crang 2002; Demossier 2001, 2004; Featherston 1991; Finkelstein 1989, 2004; Solan 2004). Conspicuously dining in public restaurants where one's food tastes and economic wealth can be observed, or visiting vineyards where one's clothing, car and other possessions may be effectively promenaded thus enabling the simultaneous creation, display, social assessment and validation of both one's reflexive individuality and social distinction. This nexus was encapsulated in a common refrain of Martinborough's tourists when advising one another on the purchase of an expensive commodity: *‘Go ahead – treat yourself’*.

Singular commodities and reflexive commodification

Consumerist expressions of reflexive individuality are clearly underpinned by the generative tension that exists between the homogeneity and singularity of mass-produced commodities (Miller 1987; Kopytoff 1986). Cultural homogenisation of commodities occurs through a multitude of intersubjective classifications and ascriptions of value, status, and meaning (Miller 1987, 1995). Firstly this involves the

simple classification that a good or service is exchangeable, and also includes their classification within a broad category of similar things (e.g. chairs, rugby balls etc). Singularity (or differentiation) occurs whenever distinctive intersubjective meaning is attributed to a particular commodity and especially via the mechanisms of personal or sub-group appropriation (e.g. my dining chair; the club's rugby ball etc). Although the cultural homogenisation is largely collusive, the variability and contested nature of intersubjective commodity engagement means a tension will always potentially exist between past, future and subjective classifications (Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986).

Attempts to invoke or ascribe commodity specificity, and by association the particularity of consumers, is a prevalent ethos of post-industrial branding, advertising and consumption regimes:

“The extraordinary degree of that item's specificity becomes apparent when it is contrasted with all those other goods it is not. Furthermore, this specificity is usually related to a person, either the purchaser or the intended user, and two are inseparable; that is the specific nature of that person is confirmed in the particularity of the selection, the relation between this object and others providing a dimension through which the particular social position of the intended individual is experienced” (Miller 1987: 190; see also Williams 1979; McCracken 1990).

Thus the very act of purchase, especially in terms of exercising personal choice (Carrier 1990; Miller 1987), and notwithstanding various economic, social and political constraints, can involve a significant enactment of ideal reflexive individuality. Producers, marketers and vendors deliberately manipulate this ethos of personalised commodities and acts of purchase when attempting to inculcate brand loyalty amongst consumers via mechanisms such as purchase-gifting (i.e. receiving a ‘free gift’ upon purchase), loyalty bonus schemes (e.g. Air Points etc) and the ideological association of social-good linkages (e.g. buying Lotto as an integral practice of being a ‘good Kiwi’ - Howland 2001).

Discrete or singular goods may also be intimately associated with their producers so that the authorship of product is profoundly personalised (e.g. art works, musical scores, architectural designs etc). Purchasing authored commodities may potentially

involve a non-alienated relationship with the producer, or at least with the public narratives of the producers' biography. Thus one can buy a Picasso or a Jean-Paul Gaultier, enjoy a Jamie Oliver meal or a Paul Judd bottle of wine. The producer/ vendor may be anonymous or known, but their products are nevertheless associated with the tastes and personal recommendation of a named reviewer such as an art, movie or wine critic (e.g. Robert Parker, Bob Campbell, Michael Copper⁶⁶ etc). Similarly, products may be associated with a celebrity endorsement (e.g. Catherine Zeta-Jones and Visa), so that individual acts of consumption may involve emulation of a particular famous person, or can invoke the notion of personal relationship with the celebrity via shared tastes and consumption practices (Williamson 1978). Martinborough tourists sought out tangible social relationships with local producers and the site of production, such as visiting a vineyard and meeting the winemaker when purchasing wine. This potentially personalised the tourists' acts of purchase and consumption of what remained essentially mass-produced commodities.

Singular commodities and reflexive distinction

Although the consumption of sets or clusters of commodities most meaningfully expresses social differences such as class, gender, age, lifestyle etc (Douglas & Isherwood 1996; Bourdieu 1984), singular commodities can nevertheless act as metonymic or emblematic markers of distinction. For example, consumption of Grand Cru Burgundy or a Dry River Pinot Noir can denote affluence and wine connoisseurship, just as ownership of a Spongebob Squarepants' lunchbox may signify childhood. Thus singular, comparatively inexpensive and readily personalised consumables are often promoted as accessible and emulative portals to performative displays of elite social distinction. Celebrity endorsements of commodities as diverse as hair-colouring products to alcoholic drinks and watches thus infer that the lifestyles of

⁶⁶ Robert Parker is an internationally renowned, American-based wine critic whose evaluative scheme of ranking wines out of a possible score of 100 has revolutionised wine reviews and often have a "demonstrable effect on individual wine PRICES" (Robinson 1999: 511 – emphasis in original). Bob Campbell is a well-known New Zealand wine reviewer and the author of the *Cuisine Wine Annual* (published since 1990). He also runs popular wine appreciation courses and is the chief wine buyer/reviewer for Progressive Enterprises Ltd, one of the largest supermarket chains (Woolworths and Foodtown) in New Zealand (see Chapter 9). Michael Cooper has a regular wine column in *Cuisine* (a food and lifestyle magazine) and has published several acclaimed books on New Zealand wine including *Michael Cooper's Buyer's Guide to New Zealand Wines* (published annually since 1992), five editions of *The Wines and Vineyards of New Zealand* (1984, 1986, 1988, 1993, 1996) and the *Wine Atlas of New Zealand* (2002).

the rich and famous may be easily emulated by ‘ordinary people’ who consume the advertised products (Williamson 1978).

The consumption of singular commodities also plays an important role in enabling performative expression of a person’s ideal reflexive individuality. Although possession of big ticket items such as houses and cars are more likely to actually reflect individual prosperity and social ascendancy (Douglas & Isherwood 1996; Miller 1987), the consumption of singular and comparatively inexpensive items such as a single Rolex watch or a bottle of Dry River Pinot Noir can conspicuously indicate an individuals’ achieved status; their aspirations to acquire wealth and higher social status; an accretive step taken towards achieving this goal; or even an intentionally ersatz performance of prestige, especially if commodity is a counterfeit or the individual is unable to sustain such expense in other arenas of consumption. Many post-industrial individuals experience fluctuations in personal affluence (Beck 2002) and performative consumption of singular, comparatively inexpensive, yet high status consumables can enable those experiencing economic recession to nevertheless maintain symbolic displays of elite cultural capital and social status. Such performative displays also serve to sustain and compliment individuals’ autobiographical assertions of subjectivity coherence and praiseworthiness. In this respects, individuals are enabled to create performances and narratives of personal tastes and reflexive distinction that are closely aligned to their achieved, desired or aspirational social distinctions and often irrespective of whether this was actual, episodic or ersatz.

For example, it was often evident that the cost of a holiday weekend in Martinborough, drinking expensive local wines, enjoying gourmet dining and staying at up-market hotels or homestays, was significantly beyond, or at least stretched, the financial resources of many tourists⁶⁷ and consequently could not be easily adopted as a constant lifestyle. Nevertheless, a holiday, like much leisured consumption, may be a temporary indulgence and accordingly the associated displays of elite cultural and economic capitals were also intermittently accessible and episodic. The desire for episodic luxury consumption is clearly encouraged by ‘credit-card’ economics and is significantly

⁶⁷ For example, many tourists complained about ‘*high cost*’ of goods and services – and some confided that they could only afford their Martinborough holiday by putting the expense on their credit cards and paying-off the incurred debt over time.

mediated via optimism of linear growth in one's lifetime earnings and in the value of personal assets such as houses (Appadurai 1996: 80).

In addition the sensibilities required for the appreciative (without faux pas), consumption of fine wine, refined dining, or the elegant ambience of a high-quality hotel is not necessarily confined to the cultural capital lessons learned within an individual's family, educational or occupational habitus. In fact the habitus of most tourists included a multitude of instructional, cultural capital sites. These ranged from magazines devoted to reporting the conventions and fashions of a sophisticated lifestyle (e.g. *Cuisine*, *House & Garden*), through to readily accessible wine tasting notes that are situated in the alcohol aisles of most supermarkets or on wine bottle labels, and which inform shoppers of taste characteristics of individual wines and of potential food matchings. Furthermore, a bevy of instructional experts from wine and food reviewers to chefs, *maîtres d'*, waiters, *sommeliers*, and vineyard cellar assistants, are on hand to guide consumers. Thus upclassing one's tastes is a comparatively easy matter, especially within the confines of the consumption of commodities that are singular, comparatively inexpensive, and are framed by readily accessible discourses of cultural capital.

The episodic consumption of elite commodities that are singular and which have 'democraticised' cultural capital may appear to problematise the associations between habitus, cultural capital, dispositional tastes and social status ascriptions, especially as interlopers, impostors or merely the 'undeserving' can readily engage appropriate performative displays of consumption and distinction. Attempts to evaluate and assess the social distinction or class of others (who may also be fleetingly encountered and thus remain autobiographically distanced) may thus be reduced to mere speculation of a consuming individual's "personal availability" (Douglas & Isherwood 1996: 110) – that is their genuine possession of economic, social and cultural resources that enable them to meaningfully take advantage of valued social opportunities and developments. The rampant expansion of commodity markets has resulted in a situation in which often bewildering arrays of differently qualified, yet similar, goods exist (e.g. 1st, 2nd, 3rd tier wines). Many consumer practices act to diffuse firm associations between commodity consumption and social distinction. For example, the ability to spot a bargain wine (e.g. one that is high in quality, low in price, and comparatively unknown) is a valued form

of connoisseurship in the New World (but not necessarily the Old World) and hence reflects a high quotient of valued technical/cultural capital

As Bourdieu (1984) notes, however, the relationship between economic and cultural capital is always uneasy, so that an abundance or dearth of wealth does not necessarily correlate with particular social distinction configurations. All classes of people, but the middle classes especially, are in a state of flux and their tastes in everything from music through to food and leisure activities are constantly subjected to the often contradictory dynamics that arise through the pursuit of novelty, converse strategies of conservatism, lifestyle fragmentation and emulation of the elite. This variance also reflects a post-modern contestment of what Bourdieu referred to as the dominating classes' legitimisation and naturalisation of apical taste paradigms.

The apparent democratisation of cultural capital and the post-modern celebration of an eclectic plurality of tastes are also underpinned by the development of niche consumption paradigms (Rouse 1995). This is where producers purposefully manufacture commodities that are gradated in terms of quality and price, but which are promotionally celebrated as socially prestigious or worthwhile. For example, the consumption of a comparatively inexpensive Honda car is subjected to similar celebratory advertising narratives, which principally validate the social worth and esteem of individuals choosing to consume such products, as is the consumption of a luxury Porsche (Howland 2004). A similar ethos applies even when individuals are economically compelled to purchase inexpensive, generally low quality products. Thus individuals who shop at the Warehouse are promotionally celebrated as astute bargain hunters and financially judicious shoppers (e.g. "The Warehouse – where everyone gets a bargain").

Nevertheless the competitive and dynamic deployment of cultural capital to maintain social distinctions remains pertinent to the post-modern consumer. Within diverse cultural fields such as hip-hop, jazz or classical music there are various mechanisms (e.g. normative discourses, celebrities etc) that at any given moment attempt to assert legitimate or apical taste paradigms and thus seek to maintain social distinctions within, and between, different style communities (Solan 2004). Such mechanisms therefore generate dispositions that all individuals dynamically reference, whether they engage in

conservative reproduction strategies or seek to intentionally transform or reject privileged paradigms. Thus discourses that exert the superiority of discrete taste or style paradigms still exist and the saliency of social comparison and distinction strategies are thereby maintained. For example, drinking home-brewed beer or 4th tier Chateaux Lafite-Rothschild (Légende R Bordeaux Red) purchased from the local supermarket may be recognised and rejoiced as a marker of reflexive, consumerism. Nevertheless, in particular social circles and contexts it may also indicate the possession of low economic and cultural capitals especially when compared with the equally reflexive consumption of a Belgian, monastic-brewed Trappist Ale or first-growth Chateau Lafite-Rothschild sourced directly from a vineyard in Pauillac, Bordeaux.

‘Fixed’ associations of cultural capital, commodity consumption and social distinction are, however, partially reinstated by a unity of style that has resulted from the increase in absolute and relative proportions of the middle classes across the globe (Giddens 1999) and from the consequential emergence of trans-cultural “cultures of cosmopolitanism” (Szerszynski & Urry 2002: 461). This transnational unity of style is disseminated via international (and localised) lifestyle magazines such as *Vogue*, and via various other communication pathways (e.g. advertising, movies etc). It promotes transnationalised notions of style that can be classified as Euro-chic, and which encompasses a significantly unified assortment of stylistic traits (e.g. gourmet cooking, designer clothing, technical gadgetry, rural holidaying, wine consumption etc) that are characteristically associated with performative displays and practices of middle class social distinction.

Materiality and celebrated ephemerality

Analysis of consumption also compels scrutiny of the materiality or physicality of any commodity under investigation. All objects have a “physically concrete form independent of any individual’s mental image of it... by virtue of their concrete nature, [they] can never possess that entirely arbitrary and abstract quality [of linguistic symbolism]” (Miller 1987: 99). In other words, you cannot milk a stone, anymore than a pig can provide lamb chops for the dining table. The materiality of all objects enables and constrains their specific socio-cultural deployment; however, their perceived material attributes, values and uses are also historical and will therefore always reflect key social and cultural paradigms. Commodities may be manufactured, ‘natural’ or a

combination of both; subtractive (e.g. carved wood products) or additive (e.g. clay or metal products); mass-produced or artisan etc. Distinctions exist between manufactured and ‘natural’ objects. The cultural meanings embedded in manufactured objects or artefacts (e.g. a chair or motor vehicle) exist both in their socio-cultural production and the uses they are subjected to. By comparison, the meaning of ‘natural’ objects (e.g. an apple or water) predominantly exist in the socio-cultural uses to which they are subjected and in the value that is accorded to their unadulterated materiality (e.g. organic apples are valued as particularly unprocessed fruit).

The manner in which an object may be acquired, exchanged and consumed should also be explored (Miller 1987). Commodities can be terminal (i.e. most likely to be consumed by the purchaser); durable or perishable; retailed or available directly from the producer; contemplative or mundane. For example, amongst the middle classes the perceived naturalness, and hence perceived innate goodness, of wine is highly prized (Howland 2004). The perceived artisan production and singular (i.e. distinctive by vineyard, season, varietal etc) nature of wine is likewise celebrated, especially when compared with mass-produced objects.

Post-industrial societies are characterised by an ever-expanding flux of material culture and the fashion/fad-driven basis of contemporary consumption (Appadurai 1996; Miller 1987; McCracken 1990) does not necessarily offer fixity of (inter)subjective meanings and values. Fundamental basis of reflexive individualism and associated modes of consumption are also significantly constructed upon the institutional rejection of enduringness in interpretation and convention (Giddens 1991). Thus it may be argued that the structures of commodity production, promotion and consumption reflect the “culturally constituted world”⁶⁸ (McCracken 1990: 72) of post-industrialism and are thus structurally predisposed toward novelty, partiality, and incompleteness.

⁶⁸ The acts of linking the ideals of reflexive individualism, (inter)subjectivity, and social distinction with commodity consumption are promoted by a bevy of advertisements and other marketing strategies (e.g. event sponsorship, celebrity endorsements etc). Although the relationship between consumers and commodity promoters is clearly dialogic (Foster 2005), a number of theorists rightly contend that commodity advertising is relatively conservative in that it draws from, and thus reflects, existent and widespread socio-cultural categories, values and trends (McCracken 1990; Williamson 1978).

All cultural and social existence, including commodity production and consumption, is inherently generative and transformatory, constantly changing in response to insistent shifts in social categories, roles, norms and rank brought about via various mechanisms including distinction competition and innovation (Bourdieu 1984). Therefore the links between subjectivity, intersubjectivity and commodity consumption are constantly changed in response. Not only do products often fail to deliver the ideals and hype of advertisements (thus invoking feelings of post-purchase dissonance), but the regimes of fashion, innovation and built-in product obsolescence mean that impermanence and the associated desire for 'newer and better' commodities is structurally embedded (Campbell 1983; Miller 1987). Advertisers and marketers manipulate these structural compulsions for change with relentless promises that the next season's products will be technically better or even more reflective of contemporary tastes, and thereby establishing the conditions whereby last season's goods are regarded as *passé* and their continued consumption as unsatisfactory.

The inculcation of "nostalgia is a central feature of modern merchandising" (Appadurai 1996: 76) and this is not simply restricted to yearning for an idealised Golden Past, but increasingly encompasses "imagined nostalgia" (1996: 77) where consumers are taught to "miss things that they have never lost... That is, they create experiences of duration, passage, and loss that rewrite the lived histories of individuals, families, ethnic groups, and classes... [this] creates much deeper wants than simple envy, imitation, or greed could by themselves invite" (1996: 77). Nostalgia for an imagined past is complimented by "nostalgia for the present" (Appadurai 1996: 77) and is especially apparent in films and advertisements directed toward the youth market in which the present is represented as "something the viewer has already lost" (Appadurai 1996: 77). The lesson for the consumer is "buy now, not because you will otherwise be out of date, but because your period will soon be out of date" (Appadurai 1996: 77).

Fashion and nostalgia conspire to ensure that ephemerality is a persistent feature of modern consumption. The "pleasure of ephemerality is at the heart of the disciplining of the modern consumer" (Appadurai 1996: 83) and is found in the tension between nostalgia for valued losses (real, imagined or anticipated) and fantasies of an idealised future. This establishes an "aesthetic of ephemerality" (Appadurai 1996: 84), which is in part reflected in the never-ending quest by consumers for novelty (see also Campbell

1997). In tourism this is experienced via the laying down of “future memories” (Crang 1997: 366) that characteristically occurs in photographing or somehow recording (via holiday narratives/memories and the possession of metonymic souvenirs/ keepsakes etc) touristic events. Moreover, the “valorisation of ephemerality” (Appadurai 1996: 84) reflects the broader historical and social processes of reflexive individuality that normalise, idealise and celebrate persistent change, uncertainty, and risk-taking (Beck 2002; Giddens 1991). For example, Martinborough’s tourists’ celebration of the vintage ephemerality of wine was complimented by a pervasive belief in the progressive development of quality wines. This was apparent in the widespread desire for new vintages (which correspondingly highlights a nostalgic reverence of past vintages) and via the collusive nexus of the seemingly enduring ‘*French traditions*’ of winemaking and the innovative New World strategies of Martinborough’s winemakers.

Enduring and emblematic commodity myths

Although progressive ephemerality is an integral component of post-industrial consumption and of ideal reflexive individuality, both are nonetheless underpinned by emblematic myths that emphasise enduringness and are thus reflective of durable social worth. For example, the emergence of reflexive individualism as a core social structure is widely believed to result from the triumphal resilience of the Enlightenment project and the resultant fluorescence of reason and universal human rights (Giddens 1991; Lukes 1973). Prolonged histories of production/consumption are also assigned to commodities, many of which have become culturally iconic. The CEO of Saatchi & Saatchi, Kevin Roberts, has hypothesised commodities such as Zippo lighters, Harley Davidson motorbikes and Coca-cola have evolved into Lovemark products. Lovemark commodities are those which have valued and enduring histories of consumption and which thus exemplify exemplary quality. Consumers often display strong emotional attachments to Lovemark products and attempts by producers to alter the commodities’ form, function or quality have been met with substantial consumer opposition (Foster 2005; Roberts 2004). Similarly many goods are believed to have almost transcendent and fixed ‘natural’ qualities, such as the rarity, luminous sparkle and physical hardness of diamonds, that are not only regarded as innate, but make them good to think in analogous social situations (e.g. gifting a diamond to signify the permanence of one’s romantic affections - Howland 2004). Such commodities are also emblematically

valued for their capacity to consistently define and reproduce various idealised qualities, which are likewise attributed to consumers and thus confer social distinction.

The influence of invented traditions and associated myths, especially in summoning national, ethnic, class and other collective practices and sentiments, has been robustly chronicled (Anderson 1991; Appadurai 1990; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1996). Many assert durable, fixed and positively valued connections with a supposedly enduring historical past (including the rural idyll, ancestral genealogies etc) or with other purportedly invariant or innate entities such as nature (e.g. Mother Earth etc), the supernatural (e.g. God-given rights; millennial spirituality etc) or science (e.g. psychologically-determined personality types; genetic dispositions etc). Those deeply embedded within human history, in that their celebrated characteristics are consistently valued by individuals across time (and space), are thus akin to being natural or innate (e.g. wine as the superior alcoholic beverage – Allen 1930; Barthes 1987; Demossier 1997, 2005; Fuller 1996; Johnson 1998). Such traditions and myths are often used to hegemonically establish, affirm, and maintain certain values or customs that may include the inherent morality of the social status quo (including idealisation of reflexive individuality), social rankings and resultant differential status and rewards (Bourdieu 1984; Cannadine 1996; Cohn 1996).

Many of the pervasive, durable myths attributed to the consumption of fine wine and the rural idyll appreciably appeal to an enduring and seemingly naturalised connection with, and reproduction of, elite socio-cultural status (Cooper 2002; Fuller 1996; Johnson 1998; Robinson 1999; Schama 1996; Williams 1973). These myths are also reconfigured to compliment and validate the ideals of reflexive individualism and accordant narratives of reflexive distinctions. For example, the natural variability of wine produced in different seasons, by diverse winemakers, at distinct locales etc is celebrated in conjunction with the transformatory and progressive ideals of the urbane, reflexive individual, who simultaneously demonstrates their middle class competencies by 'keeping up' with changing fashions and trends in the wine industry. In addition, enduring notions of the romanticised rural idyll as a site of enduring, authentic family and community relations are somewhat ironically aligned with, and hence are deployed to corroborate, the tourists' reflexive sociality.

The episodic and singular character of the consumption of commodities such as wine and rural idyll tourism may actually serve to sustain their idealistic mythologisation as sporadic engagement with vineyard production or rural life does not necessarily enable deep or robust experience of the totality of such phenomena. Thus negative, conflictual or contradictory elements can, through intention or by coincidence, remain essentially hidden from view and the romanticised ideals of wine and rurality (and of reflexive individualism) can remain unproblematised and uncontested. Perceived links with an affirming past are often “factitious” (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1996: 2) and often selectively highlight positive connections and omit the negative or contradictory. Nevertheless in post-industrial societies (which are characterised by fast-paced change and innovation) the production and articulation of such enduring myths and traditions does provide comparatively fixed reference points on which individuals can reflexively construct, negotiate and validate their multivalent (inter)subjectivities (Beck 2002; Comaroff & Comaroff 2000; Giddens 1991).

Conclusion

My analysis of Martinborough’s wine tourists focuses on their dispositional, idealised and performative nexus of middle class distinction (general and hierarchised) and reflexive individualism. Reflexive individuality has been institutionalised in late modern societies and, like social distinction, is a pervasive habitus. Reflexive individuality is a key marker of middle class social distinction. The nexus is interesting especially as the stratifying mechanisms of social distinction possess an ever-present capacity to comparatively downclass and negatively rank individuals; whereas the ideal reflexive individuality is premised on the desire to routinely experience an exalted self. In many respects the reflexive subject has been pushed onto centre stage of society and hegemonically cast as a purposeful creator, assembler and arbitrator of economic success, political cognisance, sociality and social distinction.

Reflexive habitus generates a series of ideal dispositions, which includes perceiving oneself to be, and being socially recognised as, highly differentiated or unique; autonomous in thought, action and interaction; a dedication to self-improvement; processing the self as a series of personally generated intersubjectivities, life-trajectories and autobiographical narratives; and actively interpreting and positioning the self in relation to various socio-cultural narratives. The ideal reflexive individual is

also adept, creative and dynamic, especially when faced with novelty or diversity; intentionally forms social relationships and networks based on basic trust; and effectively deploys rational evaluations and subjective passion where appropriate. In essence, the ideal reflexive individual is unique, autonomous, coherent, progressive and praiseworthy.

Individuals are thus drawn toward fields of action where they perceive the greatest opportunity to enact their ideal reflexive individuality. These include life politics, occupational/ career pathways, the sociality of friendship and romantic relationships, educational development, body image/ornamentation and leisured consumption. Within these fields, ideal reflexive individuality is significantly experienced through the production of affirmative autobiographical narratives and performative displays. Martinborough's tourists specifically pursued ideal reflexive individuality and middle class social distinction in the fields of reflexive sociality and via the leisured consumption of urbane commodities such as wine and the recreation of a rural holiday. This was undertaken within the tourists' locale construction of Martinborough as a metro-rural idyll, and specifically within their episodic and performative enactment of local vineyards, restaurants etc.

The machinations of up-classing and down-classing are significantly premised on the social acknowledgement of class-legitimated tastes in food, clothing, art, lifestyle etc. Social distinction negotiations are also comparative and dynamic processes, which range from conservative reproduction to reconfiguration and innovation, etc of various distinction practices and values. In post-industrial society this dynamism is reflected in the increasing saliency of niche production and consumption strategies. Similarly, institutionalised reflexive individualism is founded on the dynamism that arises from the contestment, negotiation and ideally progressive evolution of all forms of knowledge, authority and distinctive experience. The result is that ephemerality, pluralism, diversity, novelty, risk-taking and anxiety are structurally normalised and even celebrated as opportunities for individual advancement, especially by those who possess sufficient economic, social and cultural capitals to enable calculated, progressive identity construction, articulation and performative practice. The renderings of social distinction and reflexive individual are thus not only dynamic, but appear to be

loosened from the dispositional moorings that can arise within the habitus of family origin, educational and class.

The rise of novel distinction paradigms and the ideal emancipation of reflexive individualism have not, however, signalled the collapse of social status ranking and hierarchies. In wine consumption for example the mechanisms of social stratification are significantly founded upon, and embedded within, enduring historical or natural mythologies that hegemonically normalise the association of fine wine with elite social distinction. Thus for many Martinborough's tourists variations in the knowledge and appreciative practice of the rural idyll, the French tradition of fine wine, and the perceived innate nuances in wine were markers of differential status. Seemingly enduring and socially validating mythologies underpinned the performative consumption of urbane commodities such as wine and rural idyll holidays to maintain hierarchies of distinction in social milieus that are increasingly subject to the motifs and ideals of reflexive individuality.

Performative displays, ranging from the actual to aspirational and even ersatz, of ideal reflexive individuality and middle class distinction are significantly facilitated by the comparatively inexpensive purchase of singular, luxury commodities and by the democratisation of associated cultural capitals. Such performative modes of consumption can enable individuals to display, assess, adopt and maintain various markers of social distinction during times of financial hardship. They also provide opportunities for individuals to publicly exhibit their ideal or exalted selves via the performative enactment of personal choices and tastes. They thus contribute to the affirmative production of autobiographical narrative and to similar pronouncements of reflexive distinction in which individuals assert their personal orientations toward social distinction mechanisms. Reflexive distinction narratives were routinely produced by Martinborough's tourists, who as middle class individuals were characteristically anxious of, and perhaps most subjected to, the variations of up-classing or down-classing. In many respects narratives of reflexive distinction functioned as 'face-saving' strategies, enabling individuals to assert a socially distinct, praiseworthy self while obscuring the fact that like fine wine, places at the top echelons of society are limited and are reserved for the 'best people'.

Chapter Three:

Metro-rural Martinborough

Introduction

It was the day before the Toast Martinborough Wine & Food Festival circa November 1999. I together with dozens of others, from vineyard workers through to caterers, marquee erectors, portaloos installers and the first wave of volunteers from the Kapiti Wine & Food Society, had just completed a hectic morning's work. After enjoying a well-earned lunch and cup of tea we were about to continue preparations when an order came from the 'office'⁶⁹ to deadhead the Livingstone daisies⁷⁰. These daisies grew luxuriously in two large flowerbeds at the end of the driveway (see Fig.5.) and the next day would frame the entrance to Ata Rangi's vineyard festivities.

I was incredulous. Hadn't we infinitely more practical tasks to complete before we concerned ourselves with the aesthetics of Livingstone daisies? Would Sunday's high-spirited revellers even notice our efforts as they made their thirsty ways to the bar that lay just beyond the flowerbed? I felt a familiar voice of protest rise in my throat, one that is rarely stifled whenever I encounter an employment-related chore I believe irrational or unreasonable. But remembering my status as a researcher on the vineyard, and realising that no one else appeared at all flummoxed by the request, I subdued my objections and set about helping to collect the necessary buckets and gardening shears. Soon a group of eight of us were systematically moving through the gardens cutting off the flowers of every dead or sickly looking daisy. We this did for three hours, in effect 24 hours of one person's labour or three typical working days. When finished, only the most pristine of Livingstone daisies remained intact, ready to faultlessly greet the parched hordes of the Toast Martinborough Festival.

⁶⁹ The 'office' referred to the administration and marketing of Ata Rangi, which is housed next to the vineyard's wine shop.

⁷⁰ Livingstone daises or *Dorotheanthus bellidiformis* are a low-growing succulent annual that are native to South Africa, but which due to their colourful display, ground-cover capacities and drought/ frost-resistance qualities (Yates 2002) are often found in gardens around the South Wairarapa.

Fig.5. The bed of 'pristine' Livingstone Daisies at Ata Rangi.

For the few days prior I had been helping the crew at Ata Rangi prepare for Toast Martinborough, an annual festival showcasing local vineyards and their wine. That morning we had been shifting hay bales and empty wine barrels into a large marquee where thousands would jostle for tasty treats prepared by the well-known caterer Ruth Pretty. The hay bales were topped with wooden tables and white linen cloths to function as food service areas. Others were fashioned into wine bars or provided amphitheatre-type seating around the nearby stage where various jazz bands would perform throughout Sunday's celebrations. A number of wine barrels were also positioned to provide judiciously placed tables for those attempting to balance wine glasses and platefuls of whitebait fritters. This innovative use of the wine barrels and rustic hay bales not only denoted the rural (see Fig.6.), but also symbolised the type of masculine, 'number-eight wire' resourcefulness that is often celebrated as part of the rural idyll in New Zealand society (Belich 1996; Bell 1993, 1996, 1997; Phillips 1996).

The call to deadhead the Livingstone daises clearly denoted a romanticisation of nature that resonated within the tourists' sylvan constructions of rural Martinborough in general and specifically in the rustic staging of the vineyard for Toast Martinborough. The notion that Martinborough and its surrounds represented a vernacular rural idyll was widely shared amongst the urban-based tourists (see Appendix A: Table 7) and many also expected any '*nature*' they encountered on their rural holiday should be in

pristine condition (see Appendix E).⁷¹ Other key attributes of the vernacular rural idyll included intimate communities and families; a relaxed and slow-paced lifestyle; an artisan work-ethic that was reflected in autonomous and biographised producers; productive, progressive and innovative production, land use etc; historic townscapes and farm buildings; and picturesque, '*clean green*' rural landscapes.

Fig.6. Hay bales and wine barrels being moved into position as the 'front bar' for Toast Martinborough at Ata Rangi. The bed of pristine Livingstone Daisies is on the left and the food marquee to the right.

Martinborough's tourists, in a dialogic relationship with tourism promoters and winemakers, deployed their beliefs of a vernacular rural idyll in ways that not only exemplified the bucolic, but simultaneously highlighted middle class distinction and ideal reflexive individualism. For example, for the majority of tourists consuming wine in-situ (i.e. on specific vineyards of production) was their stated principal attraction of a rural holiday in Martinborough (see Appendix D). In framing wine production, which is essentially an industrialised, profit-making undertaking, within the idioms of the rural idyll and picturesque, tourists thus constructed the vineyards as performative sites of middle class leisure. Tourists also conspicuously engaged in the consumption of other urbane commodities such as gourmet foods and luxurious holiday accommodation and thereby denoted the middle class ideal of 'distance from necessity', be it employment or consumption based on functional need (Bourdieu 1984). Variable expenditure on,

⁷¹ A significant number of tourists who holidayed in Martinborough on rainy, cold days complained that the inclement weather they endured was '*not acceptable*'. This was confirmed by many of the homestay operators I interviewed, with some commenting that tourists had requested refunds of, or reductions on, their accommodation costs due to experiencing inclement weather during their Martinborough holiday.

and the appreciative or connoisseur-like consumption of, differently priced and quality wines, foodstuffs or holiday accommodation also produced socially acknowledged hierarchies of distinction. The tourists also signalled their ideal reflexive individuality in enacting personal choice in commodity purchases and in the associated expression of personal tastes and reflexive distinction. By casting rural work such as wine production as folk–craft and classifying such commodities as gourmet and hand-crafted, the tourists imputed such goods with biographical narratives that simultaneously highlighted the social distinction and reflexivity of the product, producer and consumer.

Many tourists also regarded Martinborough, with its colonial cottage homestays and idyllic vineyards, as a '*romantic*' locale and accordingly holidayed with lovers or intimate others such as friends, with the stated intent of enjoying '*quality time*' together. The pastoral virtues of cohesive rural families and community were widely extolled by tourists and many, whilst holidaying adopted stereotypical modes of rural friendliness and waved hello to strangers. The majority of tourists with dependent children, however, paradoxically left them '*at home*' (see Appendix C). Thus tourists' scavenged the idealised social sentiments of the rural idyll to underpin and affirm the reflexive sociality of their holidaying and ultimately their ideal reflexive individuality.

Likewise the intentional staging of the pristine bed of Livingstone daisies did not simply reproduce the pristine aesthetics of the tourists' rural idyll, but also importantly provided a legitimating foundation for the tourists' performative consumption of wine and gourmet foods, which were also reflexively selected and enjoyed in the company of personal friends and lovers. Thus Martinborough was dialogically constructed as a metro-rural idyll, in which pervasive notions of the vernacular rural idyll are deployed to provide a morally corroborating setting for the tourists' idealised and performative reproduction of middle class distinction and ideal reflexive individuality.

The tourists' rural idyll

The majority of the tourists noted a distinct divide between the rurality of Martinborough compared with the urbanity and metropolitan way of life⁷² of

⁷² Institutional (e.g. census, governmental etc) definitions of rural tend to focus on population size and /or density in comparison to a country's urban environs. For example, Statistics New Zealand defines an urban population as a settlement of 1,000 or more and range from main urban (30,000 or more),

Wellington, approximately 1¼ hours drive away by car. Many felt that the Rimutaka Hills that are part of the 22,000ha Rimutaka Forest Park, a native forest reserve administered by the Department of Conservation and through which State Highway 2 passes to link the suburban sprawl of the Hutt Valley to the Wairarapa plains, served to mark or emphasise this urban–rural dichotomy:

‘When you drive over the Rimutakas with its windy roads and sheer drops, and all you can see is native forest for miles you really feel as though you have left the city behind ... Just down from the summit there is a corner from which you can glimpse the Wairarapa laid out before you. When I see this I feel as though I have truly left the city behind and I can feel myself starting to unwind’ (Martinborough holiday home owner, mid 50’s, male, Wellington residence).

Most tourists regarded Martinborough, in being reasonably close to a major metropolitan area, as a rural locale that principally offered urbanites opportunities to enjoy the *‘good life’* (i.e. refined leisure, pleasant scenery etc) and *‘the time to enjoy family and friends’*. For a few individuals Martinborough was also regarded as a place where one could happily *‘retire to’*. Many valued Martinborough’s scenic farmlands, especially the surrounding green paddocks and picturesque vineyards, its natural scenery including rivers, forested hills, and notable local gardens⁷³, its *‘harmonious tight-knit community’* of hard working, cohesive *‘farming families’*, and artisan commodity production. Tourists also valued a Martinborough holiday for its potential to facilitate leisured consumption of high quality, urbane products (especially wine, olive oil, designer clothing etc), sophisticated restaurants and cafés, and for its capacity to generate leisured reflexive sociality..

secondary urban (10,000 to 29,999) and minor urban (1,000 to 9,999). Consequently rural areas include rural centres (settlements between 300 and 999) and other rural areas (www.stats.govt.nz/census, November 2006). The United States Census Bureau defines urban areas as “core census block groups or blocks that have a population density of at least 1,000 people per square mile and [with] surrounding census blocks that have an overall density of at least 500 people per square mile” (www.census.gov/geo/www/ua/ua_2k.html, November 2006). The Bureau’s classification of rural consists of all territory, population, and housing units located outside of urbanised areas and urbanised clusters.

⁷³ There were a number of gardens in or nearby Martinborough that were open to the public. Some such as Harakeke Garden were open seasonally (from Labour weekend to Easter), charged an admission fee, and offered plants for sale together with morning/afternoon tea. Others such as Hauiti Lavender were open all year round and generated income from selling their produce (e.g. lavender oil, lavender soaps etc).

Obviously every tourist had a unique (Rapport 1992), and potentially socially distinctive (e.g. gendered, aged, class etc - Ching & Creed 1997), configuration of beliefs, articulations and experiences of rurality in general and of Martinborough specifically. For example, a few did not agree that Martinborough represented an archetypical rural place and also did not ascribe to notions of idyllic rurality, nor to the restorative qualities of holidaying in Martinborough:

'It's really just a suburb of Wellington now...you are just as likely to bump into someone you know from town (i.e. Wellington city) as you are when walking down Lambton Quay' (Martinborough holidaymaker, male, mid 30's).

In addition those tourists with some form of rural background, who either lived on a farm as children or had close acquaintances who work in the rural sector, characteristically possessed a prosaic view of life in the country. Generally they were attuned to the myriad economic, social and political difficulties that rural people can experience, from their heavy dependence on global produce markets, through to small farms' reliance on poorly recompensed family labour, the decentralisation of health, education, banking and other infrastructural services, and the often higher rates of unemployment and poverty (Le Heron & Roche 1999; Newby 1978, 1988; Moran et al. 1993; Waldegrave & Stuart 1997). They were also more aware that rural communities are also likely to experience conflict, dysfunction or misfortune, ranging from boundary disputes between farmers through to drink-drive fatalities. Such tourists were also more familiar with the varied interests, experiences and skills that many rural inhabitants possessed beyond those which are typically attributed to the monolithic 'country hick' stereotype.

Similarly those urbanites who had immigrated to Martinborough, and to a lesser extent those Wellingtonians who maintained holiday-homes in the area, were more conscious than most episodic tourists of the complexities and nuances of rural life and were typically concerned about problems such as the excessive demands on the town's water supply caused by an increase in domestic (i.e. largely tourist) and industrial (i.e. primarily vineyard irrigation) water-use (Wairarapa Times-Age 1998, January 7: 1). They also knew that many fellow rural inhabitants were active local brokers in the

reproduction of Martinborough's metro-rural urbanity (e.g. winemakers etc) and that consequently the boundaries between rurality and the metropolitanism usually attributed to city life were consistently blurred. As one recent urban retiree to Martinborough told me:

'The guy you are talking to over the fence is just as likely to have travelled the world, worked in the diplomatic service or flown topdressers in Africa. You just can't assume that every farmer is a country bumpkin'
(Martinborough retiree, male, late 60's).

Nevertheless, the number of tourists who shared very similar notions and aspirations of the idyllic rurality of Martinborough were too overwhelming to ignore. Many primarily focussed, and often spontaneously commented, on the surface aesthetics (Bender 2002) of Martinborough's rurality, especially the picturesque, scenic qualities they desired - namely green, tranquil, orderly and ideally sun-bathed vineyards and farmscapes. In response to direct questioning, however, other aspects of their shared notions of the requisite rural and metro-rural idyll were also forthcoming. For example, the majority of tourists who listed what they most enjoyed about their Martinborough holiday (see Appendix D) responded in ways that highlighted their entangled pastoral and metro-rural outlooks. Thus many stated that they enjoyed visiting the vineyards, liked the rural scenery and associated '*relaxed*' way of life, but also took pleasure in dining in the local restaurants/cafés and gourmet food stores. Many also commented on their enjoyment of the '*good weather*', meeting friendly locals and their appreciation of the hospitality shown toward them.

Latent rural idyll dispositions were also readily apparent in tourists' routine practices. For example, many desired to purchase locally produced commodities and to personally meet local wine makers, producers and homestay operators. Many engaged in personalised dialogue with local producers, typically talking about what had motivated the producers to establish businesses in Martinborough, how working in a rural place enabled a positive balance of work and family life, and the producers' progressive philosophies of production. In this tourists alluded to significant characteristics of the vernacular rural idyll, namely that rural places are havens for artisan or folk work, progressive production, harmonious family life and neighbourly communities where people enjoy personalised social connectedness.

The tourists' rural idyll is typically constructed in contrast with the more lamentable aspects of urban or city living⁷⁴ and is thus very similar to those reproduced by other urbanites throughout New Zealand (Bell 1996, 1997; Dominy 1997) and in other post-industrial countries such as Australia, Britain and Canada (Duruz 1999; Halseth 2004; Newby 1978, 1988; Olwig 1993; Schama 1996; Short 1991; Williams 1973). It characteristically includes beliefs that rural settings are more natural, scenic and picturesque than city environments, which are conversely perceived of as urban, industrial and commercial. Thus rural environments are typically thought of as being '*closer to nature*', unpolluted, full of '*fresh air*', inherently beneficial and as ideal settings for recreational and leisure pursuits (especially for visiting urbanites). In contrast, city environments, and especially those marked by heavy industrial, commercial and suburban usage, are conversely cast as '*man-made*' or unnatural, and in worst case scenarios as polluted and harmful to the physical and spiritual wellbeing of individuals.

Also rural life is ideally regarded as '*slow*', uncrowded and accordingly relaxing, community and family-orientated, whereas city life is characterised as '*fast-paced*', over-crowded, full of '*hustle and bustle*' and masses of people who are strangers to each other. The fast pace of city life, with its insistent occupational, educational and other 'time demands' means that family life is not as intimate or cohesive, and neither

⁷⁴ Such idealisation of rural existence was not only the preserve of urbane tourists, similar perspectives on the benefits of a '*rural lifestyle*' (albeit more judiciously articulated) were also widespread amongst Martinborough's residents including farmers, vineyards owners etc and represented ideals that are commonplace amongst New Zealand's rural communities, who typically:

- regard themselves as "real New Zealanders" who enjoy "a great way of life";
- value the "peace, quiet, tranquillity, physical beauty only possible in rural areas";
- regard "participation in 'nature' [as a] positive moral value;
- perceive of "land as a commodity that can developed, improved, worked, made to produce";
- attribute "positive moral 'virtue' [to] rural occupations";
- ascribe to "a powerful work ethic, morally superior to the (stereotyped) urban 9-5 daily schedule with free weekends";
- prioritise family and wherever possible "family involvement in the parents' occupation";
- regard rural areas as great places "to bring up children... [who] benefit from the safe, clean environment, fresh air, wholesome value, character-forming participation in the family livelihood";
- mythologise a sense of community where "'everyone' knows one another... [which] implies a spirit of co-operation, caring and moral support" (Bell 1993: 16-17; 1997).

Moreover, many rural people characteristically regard the sacrifice of perceived urban advantages (e.g. robust support services such as health, education etc; entertainment facilities; good roads etc) as worthwhile in comparison to the professed benefits of a rural way of life (Bell 1993: 16).

do neighbours generally form friendships or even know one another. Thus it is widely thought that rural social life is ideally family orientated and neighbourly, whereas individuals living in cities regularly experience social-alienation and anonymity.

In addition, rural employment is believed to typically involve families working together (e.g. 'farming families') in contrast with the segregation of employment and home that many city-based individuals experience. Rural work, although often regarded as physically taxing and typified by a resolute work ethic, is also ideally exemplified by self-determination and progressive innovation that emerges from the individual ownership of farms or other rural businesses and accordant regimes of self employment, profit-taking and business management. Rural work is thus differentiated from the employment of many urbanites who are often in paid employment and subject to management hierarchies, occupational 'pecking orders' and 'glass ceilings' which result in disparate recognition, status and rewards. By contrast the skills, innovations and work-ethic of named or biographically-acknowledged individuals such as wine makers, farmers etc are often celebrated and are intimately associated with the commodities they produce. This is also believed to contrast with the routine urban labour experiences where the productive efforts of individuals are often partial, incidental and in some cases anonymous. Or as one Martinborough tourist commented they were '*mere cogs in the machine*'. Although it must be noted that many of the tourists I encountered were self-employed (e.g. lawyers, business owners), or at least were employed in occupations (e.g. law, policy analysis, film industry) where their individual contributions were routinely recognised, biographically articulated and differently rewarded. Thus, they did not perceive such a marked contrast with the individualisation of rural occupations such as wine making and their own employment, but rather celebrated kindred experiences of self-determination, innovation, recognition and reward.

Enduring idyllic motifs and urbane moralities

In desiring tranquil, picturesque farmlands through to industrious and progressive engagements with nature, harmonious rural families, neighbourly communities, and artisan-like folk-production, Martinborough's tourists clearly reproduced a formulaic rural idyll that draws upon motifs that possess deep histories in European and New Zealand settler societies (see Appendix E) and which typically generate nostalgic rural-

centric desires for a Golden Age of happier, less troublesome times (Belich 1996; Bell 1993, 1996; Schama 1996; Williams 1973). The ancient Greeks and Romans⁷⁵ perceived of the original Arcadia as a valuable, necessary precursor to the inevitable evolution of civilisation and which was ideally characterised by the high culture of art, music, literature, collaborative community etc (Cosgrove 1998; Williams 1973).

Similarly many tourists framed the rural idyll of Martinborough within the loosely defined epoch of a Golden Past, a sort of timeless age of socially harmonious, culturally uncomplicated and trouble-free times. They said that they thought rural life in Martinborough was '*simpler*' and '*slow-paced*', especially when compared to their city experiences and imagined that it was similar to that enjoyed by their '*grandparents*' generation' or in the '*old days*'. Although rural idyll of Martinborough was loosely defined as historical and not aligned with any specific historical epoch or time, it was nevertheless essentially cast as enduring and thus as inherently authentic, moral and socially worthwhile (Hobsbawn & Ranger 1996).

The tourists' construct of Martinborough as a rural idyll also tended to reject any contemplation of rural hardship. When I attempted to discuss with tourists their perceptions of the social and financial constraints of boutique wine production, for example the physically hard work, long hours and the variability of a seasonally influenced income, they usually stated or indicated they had no interest in such considerations. This echoes a persistent ethos that can be traced back to the Renaissance and the 15th century development of landscape painting (see Appendix E), which is a pivotal moment in the development of contemporary European notions of the rural idyll. In 15th century landscape painting the real work, hardships and society of

⁷⁵ The first literary reference to the myth of a rural Golden Age is found in *Works and Days* written by Hesiod (c. 700 BC) the renowned father of Greek didactic poetry (1973: 14). In this poem, Hesiod celebrates the idyllic customs, beliefs, husbandry, agriculture and trading life of Greek peasants. The poem describes five periods of history, the first of which is a Golden Age of a natural, bountiful nature where "remote and free from evil and grief...(mortal men) had all good things, for the fruitful earth unforced bore them fruit abundantly and without stint" (Hesiod quoted in Williams 1973: 14). Three ages of decline – Silver, Bronze and Heroic – intercede before Hesiod's own astringent Iron Age, which is characterised by the hubris, greed and militarism of city life, from which he recommends that the community readopt lives of practical agriculture (i.e. ploughing, tending vineyards, keeping pigs, sheep and goats), social justice and neighbourliness so that they may be delivered from a "life of pain" (Hesiod quoted Williams 1973: 14). Similar themes were celebrated by later bucolic poets such as Theocritus of Sicily (c. 300–260BC), the Greek creator of pastoral poetry, and by Virgil (c. 70–19 BC), the renowned Roman poet who's epics *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid* plot the divine evolution of Roman society from its pastoral roots into an agricultural society and then to an imperial state (Williams 1973; Schama 1996; Short 1991).

rural peasants were expunged from the countryside, transforming the pastoral into a space for aristocratic theatre, entertainment and pleasant scenery (Cosgrove 1998: 9). Since this time there has been a marked tendency for urban literati and other elites to remove the “living tensions” (Williams 1973: 18) from their considerations of rural life, reducing the realities of country living to mere form, selective images and symbols which extol the virtues of an “untroubled rural delight” (Williams 1973: 18).

Accentuate the urban(e)

While idyllic imaginings of Martinborough’s tourists, like those of 15th century European landscape artists and New Zealand’s pioneer settlers (see Appendix E), celebrate a highly romanticised rural existence, Schama notes that the “urban context of this little drama is important. Arguably, both the pastoral as well as the wild⁷⁶ arcadia are landscapes of the urban imagination” (1996: 525 – see also Halseth 2004: 40). From the Roman *villa suburbana* (Dyson 2003) through to 18th century English country estates (Cosgrove 1998; Schama 1996) and 21st century ‘baches’⁷⁷ in Martinborough, various manifestations of the rural idyll have provided powerful urbanites with the space, social occasions, tangible resources and validating mythologies to conspicuously display their city-spawned affluence, refinement and social achievement. Thus the stereotypical European rural idyll has routinely been cast by the urban elite as a moral foil to, and as a potential salutary retreat from, the perceived failings and tribulations of city life (Cosgrove 1998; Halseth 2004; Schama 1996; Short 1991; Williams 1973).

Central to rural idyll motifs are notions that city life is often overcrowded, polluted, corrupt, crime-ridden and socially alienating. While many aspects of rurality are romanticised, the moral lessons learnt are not however clarion calls for a comprehensive return to rural society. Rather they are a plea for the perceived inherent, normative and most ideal aspects of rural society to be embedded within the everyday experience of city existence (see Appendix E):

“Positive images of rural life often provide ways to talk about improving the city... not as an alternative to the city, but as a moral image to inspire or discipline urban behaviour... The ideal country is the place urbanites visit,

⁷⁶ Schama reminds us that “there have always been two kinds of arcadia: shaggy and smooth: dark and light: a place of bucolic leisure and a place of primitive panic” (1996: 517).

⁷⁷ The term ‘bach’ is used by many Martinborough tourists to describe holiday homes.

not the place where poor people eke out a living. Urban dwellers who are free from the stigma of rusticity can wax eloquently about the countryside or embrace it as a retreat without undermining their own cultural superiority” (Ching & Creed 1997: 19– 20).

Thus the idyllic countryside (i.e. one free from the harsh, bestial wilderness and from the unrelenting brutality of hard labour) is cast as a moral reservoir for socio-cultural praxis in the city and thus also provides opportunity for restorative retreat from the perceived tribulations of city life (Williams 1973: 47; see also Cosgrove 1998; Ching & Creed 1997; Schama 1996). Accordingly, valued socio-cultural phenomena (e.g. nationhood, ethnicity etc – see Olwig 1993, Williams 1973) frequently draw upon mythologies of the rural idyll and as such are validated as similarly righteous or representative of a social good. Thus Martinborough was staged and performatively enacted as a metro-rural idyll, a construction of place that draws upon the moral and social validation that arises from the perceived enduringness of the rural idyll to legitimate and facilitate the tourists’ metropolitan-derived social distinctions and ideal reflexive individuality.

The construction of Martinborough as an pastoral wine village significantly draws upon global flows and narratives of cosmopolitanism and urbanity (Appadurai 1991; Clifford 1997; Friedman 1994 & 2002; Jacobsen 2003; Szerszynski & Urry 2002) that are typically engaged by affluent, highly mobile individuals from first world nations such as Britain, USA, Australia and New Zealand. Urbane sophistication is transnationally practiced through the intentional, conspicuous consumption of an idealised Euro-culture of refinement that includes an appreciation of fine wines, gourmet foods, and European, neo-modernist styling in everything from architecture, building interiors, domestic appliances, clothing, and cars. Constructions of Martinborough as a desirable tourism destination therefore also referenced other locales such as stereotypical and romanticised Provence or Tuscan vineyards.

“City and country are changing historical realities, both in themselves and in their interrelations... [they must not be reduced to] symbols or archetypes” (Williams 1973: 289). Nevertheless Williams’ seminal work *The Country and the City* is largely devoted to analysing the “great force” (1973: 289) and “persistence” (1973: 289) of the

comparative and dialogic ideologies/ practices of rural and city life throughout European history:

“This persistence has a significance matched only by the fact of great variation, social and historical, of the ideas themselves” (1973: 289).

Although specific rural-urban comparisons have emerged at different moments of European history, the persistence of practices continually affirms enduring dialogic notions such as the “pastoral innocence” of rurality and the “city as a civilising agent”; rural “settlement”, which implies unified community and family; opportunities for “rural retreat” away from the social “isolation” of the “mobs and masses” of the city; “wild or unspoiled country...[and] isolated nature” compared with “cultivated country, cultivation being honest growth” and with the rational pursuit of “capitalism... bureaucracy... centralised power” of the city; “customary”, “old” and “human” rural practices as opposed to the “independence”, “progress” and “modernisation” of the city; “rural idiocy” and the “city as a place of corruption” (Williams 1973: 290– 297).

The persistence of this rural-city dichotomy can be traced to a general crisis resulting from the transformation to the capitalist mode of commodity production:

“We live in a world in which the dominant mode of production and social relationships teaches, impresses, offers to make normal and even rigid, modes of detached, separated, external perception and action: modes of using and consuming rather than accepting and enjoying people and things... It is not so much the old village or old backstreet that is significant. It is the perception and affirmation of a world in which one is not necessarily a stranger and an agent, but can be a member, a discoverer, in a shared source of life... we have to really look, in country and city alike, at the real social processes of alienation, separation, externality, abstraction” (1973: 298).

Despite the obvious efficacy of William’s thesis, many Martinborough tourists did not retreat to the countryside to necessarily escape the flux or uncertainty in their city-based lives. As previously noted, middle class and reflexive metropolitans often highly value novelty and spontaneity as opportunities for personal development, especially in the realms of contemporary employment, knowledge paradigms and consumerist/ leisure experiences (Giddens 1991; Beck 2002). Nevertheless, idyllic rural social life,

especially in terms of community and family relations, was perceived and celebrated by the urban-based tourists as being enduring, cohesive and intimate. Such attributes were widely considered to also be vital in tourists' the successful pursuit of reflexive sociality. Thus while the wine village of Martinborough offered retreat from some of the tribulations of city life (e.g. overcrowding, personal anonymity etc), it also provided a concentrated, idealised metro-rural grounding of the tourists' middle class urbanity and ideal reflexive individuality, such as the perceived biographised agency of rural producers and similarly of the tourists' personalised, leisured consumption.

Nevertheless Martinborough holidays were often framed by tourists as an escape from the various trials and tribulations of contemporary city-life and also as opportunities to indulge in various regenerative middle class vacationing, leisure, consumption and social pursuits:

'I definitely come to Martinborough to get away from the hassles of life in Wellington. I have a stressful job in town and when we drive over the hill I see the whole of the Wairarapa open up before me and I feel my whole body relax. One of the first things I do when we arrive is hop on the swing in the backyard and just swing. It's sort of a ritual of getting in touch with my inner child, leaving behind all the stress' (Martinborough holiday home owner, mid 40's, female, Wellington resident).

'We visit Martinborough a few times a year. Mostly in summer, but sometimes also when we need a break in winter. Although it's only a short drive from Wellington it's really a world away. Life over here is so much more relaxed. The locals are friendly and you can really unwind' (Martinborough tourist, early 50's, male, Wellington resident).

The metro-rural idyll and ideal reflexive individualism

The construction of Martinborough as a metro-rural idyll also provided opportunities for tourists to construct and display their ideal reflexive individuality. This was most obvious in the conspicuous consumption choices of individuals and their associated articulation of legitimising and personalising narratives. For example, tourists routinely told me that they choose to stay at a particular Martinborough homestay because they had developed a friendly relationship with the homestay owner and they enjoyed the

garden, cottage interior etc. Tourists sometimes talked about their Martinborough homestay accommodation as '*our place*' and in doing so inferred a de-facto ownership. Correspondingly many homestay operators reported that their paying '*guests*' often wanted to '*sit and talk*' with them and many had offered to freely host the homestay operators should they visit the tourist's hometown.

Inference of de-facto ownership by tourists and their attempts to establish friendships with Martinborough producers were attempts to transcend the typical contractual, alienated character of city-based producer-consumer relationships and thus reproduce one of the central narratives of intimate rural sociality. The tourists also, however, sought to highlight and celebrate their ideal reflexive individualism. This was most obviously pursued via the tourists' conspicuously enacting their individual choices and performatively affirming their personal taste paradigms. However, by enacting their very acts of purchase as highly personalised or biographised exchanges (see Chapter 6), they thus incorporated these producer-consumer relationships within the orbit of their self-assembled, reflexive subjectivities. Metro-rural production, purchase and consumption, especially of hand-crafted, artisan and urbane commodities such as wine and designer jewellery, was routinely biographised (see Chapter 7) and thus highlighted many of the key tenets of reflexive individualism, specifically autonomy, uniqueness (re: personal tastes), judicious formation of social relations, attentive awareness of other's biographies and the autobiographical narration of a coherent and praiseworthy self.

Framing the metro-rural idyll

The tourists' narratives largely reflected the advertising and promotional rhetoric that also cast Martinborough as a rural and metro-rural idyll. The meaning, functionality, and values that advertisers ascribe to commodities is always dialogic (Foster 2005), although promotional rhetoric tends to be conservative in that it draws from, and thus reflects, widespread cultural ideas, ideals and social inclinations (McCracken 1990; Williamson 1978). For example, a Martinborough winemaker told me that many in the industry were intentionally curbing their use of feminine terms and imagery to describe Pinot Noir so not to offend female clients, who he said were increasingly '*liberated*' or ascribed to feminist ideals and who also represented an increasingly economically independent client base.

“The original location of the meaning that resides in goods is the “culturally constituted world.”... Advertising works as a potential method of meaning transfer by bringing the consumer good and a representation of the culturally constituted world together with the frame of a particular advertisement... When this symbolic equivalence is successfully established, the viewer/reader attributes certain properties he or she knows to exist in the culturally constituted world to the consumer good.” (McCracken 1990: 72, 77).

The “culturally constituted world” (McCracken 1990: 72) of the tourists, and in particular their entangled notions of the vernacular rural idyll, urbane social distinction and ideal reflexive individuality, were significant motifs in the advertising and intentional staging of Martinborough as a metro-rural idyll. Firstly, advertising and the promotional discourses of homestay operators, staff in the Martinborough Information Centre etc frequently emphasised the apparent pastoral charms of Martinborough, including the picturesque qualities of vineyards, farms and local nature areas such as the swimming holes in the nearby Ruamahanga River, the friendliness of rural folk, and the historic character of Martinborough and other Wairarapa townships.

Secondly, in accord with the hyperbolic and unrelentingly positive character of most advertising (Williamson 1978), the hardships of rural life were not mentioned and were thus obscured from consideration. Apart from platitudes about the stresses of city life, or the seemingly inevitable relaxation once on the Wairarapa side of the Rimutaka Hills, the actual foibles of daily urban-based life are not detailed. Commodity advertising, like most deliberate myth-making, attempts to deflect attention away from difficulty and to resolve potential contradictions (Levi-Strauss 1987; Williamson 1978). This restricted view obviously discourages reflection on the precise type of difficulties encountered because although some might be specific to the city (e.g. overcrowding, excessive noise), many are not place-specific and are common to contemporary life in general. Stresses such as marital disputes, intra-family conflict, employment problems, rising cost of living and so on, are endured by city and rural dwellers alike, and indeed by urbanites holidaying in rural places. Moreover, a leisurely sojourn to the countryside will not necessarily provide a panacea to these tribulations. Some problems such as a lack of discretionary income or marriage complications may

actually be exacerbated by an expensive and potentially claustrophobic vacation. Perhaps even more pertinently, any of the reflexive constraints that the urban-based tourists (and most rural dwellers) experience in their everyday lives via the insistent demands of domestic duties, tedious employment experiences, noisy neighbours, mortgage payments and so on will be still be present on their return from the country. In this respect the best a rural holiday can realistically offer is temporary respite from city-specific and more commonplace difficulties.

Nevertheless, the advertising characteristically highlighted the relaxed country atmosphere and how a holiday in Martinborough was a readily accessible foil to the negative aspects of city living. The advertising also stressed that Martinborough was not simply a rural idyll on the doorstep of nearby Wellington city, but provided an exemplary setting for the ‘discovery’ and consumption of urbane products. And lastly, it constantly emphasised and appealed to a reflexive “you” (e.g. “makes **you** feel **you** are truly escaping” – Wairarapa Times-Age, January 2004: 2- emphasis mine) and that a holiday in Martinborough, or in the surrounding Wairarapa district, facilitated a reflexive individualism that ranged from the personal ‘discovery’ of its pastoral and urbane delights through to the notions of pampering oneself and spending quality time with intimate others.

The Wairarapa promotions

The advertising and staging of the local tourism industry significantly focused on the ideals potentially provisioned by an episodic retreat to the entangled dynamics of the rural idyll, urbane consumption of fine wine and gourmet food, and various reflexively-orientated activities such as leisured time with loved ones. Since 1990 the local daily newspaper, the Wairarapa Times–Age (WTA), has produced a tourism supplement under the banner of “Wairarapa Capital Country Escape” (1990 – 1996) and more recently “Escape to Wairarapa” (1997 – 2004). This supplement is delivered annually to 90,000 households in the Wellington region.

The 1996 and 2004 WTA supplements explicitly highlighted the rural–urban contrast, highlighting the picturesque aspects of the countryside and some of the enticing elements of the sublime natural landscape (e.g. rivers, mountains). Also emphasised were the metropolitan proximity of Wellington, accordant themes of escaping the

stresses of city life, the relaxing country atmosphere, exciting opportunities for individual exploration and reflexive discovery. This was articulated within the rubric of an emotional and essentially personalised offer (implicitly from the Wairarapa's rural population) to share or gift the therapeutic bounty of a rural retreat, which also boasted cosmopolitan cuisine, multifarious recreational opportunities (from 'high adventure' to urbane consumption) and the inherent sociability of both hosts and visitors:

“Come and explore the wonderful Wairarapa

KIA ORA and welcome to beautiful Wairarapa, the perfect Capital Country Escape from the hustle and bustle of the city. We have so much to offer in places of interest, recreational activities and we love to share them... We're right on Wellington's doorstep and within easy travel of the city, yet distant enough from the stresses and cares of everyday living to allow you to relax and enjoy all we have to offer... There's a whole new world over the hill just waiting to be explored. Don't take our word for it. Come and see for yourself” (Wairarapa Times-Age, 1996: 2 – emphasis in original).

“WELCOME Wairarapa – the perfect place to visit

Wairarapa, with its rich, broad pastures, majestic mountain valleys, shining braided rivers, and spacious uncluttered beaches, provides the perfect backdrop for peace and relaxation, high adventure, or quality time with family, friends and new acquaintances. And one of the most appealing facts about the region is that it still has that untouched feel that makes you feel you are truly escaping.

How many times have you heard people arrive in [sic] Wairarapa from Wellington, exhale a deep breath, and say something to the effect of “Wow, it is amazing how relaxed you feel as soon as you get over that hill – it's like you are million miles from anywhere”... the Wairarapa is steadily building a reputation as one of New Zealand's most spectacular getaways, and with the myriad of activities, beautiful scenery and delicious cuisine, not to mention the friendly people, there is really only one thing to do – Escape to Wairarapa!” (Wairarapa Times-Age, January 2004: 2 – emphasis in original).

GoWairarapa, the agency responsible for the region's tourist information centres, adopted a similar approach on their promotional website (www.wairarapanz.com) and in the "Wairarapa Escape Planner", a free brochure detailing various tourism activities and services. Both promotions emphasised the rural retreat and relaxation ethos, the Wairarapa's proximity to the cosmopolitan 'buzz' of Wellington (which is emulated via the rural provisioning of gourmet foods and fine wines), the enduring and authenticating history of human settlement in the region, the sublime landscape and the value of travelling togetherness facilitated by escaping to the country in the company of reflexive intimates. Thus the advertisements were pitched toward a reflexive discovery and engagement of these multitudinous metro-rural delights:

"Welcome

KIA ORA

Welcome to Wairarapa, New Zealand's Capital Country Escape.

Wairarapa is the perfect rural retreat at the very heart of New Zealand, just an hour away from the vibrant capital city, Wellington. The Wairarapa experience is all about getting off the beaten track. Escape to freedom, escape now, escape together. Let us show you how..." (www.wairarapanz.com, November 2004; 2001– 2002 Wairarapa Escape Planner: 1 – emphasis in original).

"Find Wairarapa tucked away in the south-east corner of the North Island at the foot of the Tararua Mountains. Wind your way along the route trodden by early European settlers 150 years ago, over the Rimutaka Hills from Wellington to the place Maori called "Land of Glistening Waters". See the Wairarapa valley open up before you, fringed by mountains to the west and rugged coast to the east. Only 90 minutes drive from Wellington find yourself "over the hill and a world away". Essentially rural with "off the beaten track" charm, Wairarapa offers a diverse experience for lovers of great wine, gourmet organically-grown food, astonishing wildlife, and natural beauty. Rolling vineyards, acres of apple orchards, fields of lavender, olive groves, heritage museums and quaint historic towns combine to make this a great destination" (www.wairarapanz.com, June 2005).

Besides absencing negative aspects of rural life in the Wairarapa, the monetary and other costs that are necessarily associated with ‘escaping’ from Wellington are also not mentioned. That the tourism industry, like all capitalist enterprises, is chiefly motivated by the pursuit of financial profit, and is consequently competitive, market-driven, and reinforces many of the conditions of socio-economic stratification, is thus obscured. Moreover, these attractions are essentially framed as pleasure-inducing ‘gifts’ from local ‘hosts’ who, due to their permanent residence in the area, are more knowledgeable of the seemingly innate delights of the area, but who are nevertheless eager to share their rural paradise with appreciative ‘guests’. The promotions thus resonate with the idealised host-guest ethos of tourism (Smith 1989). This host-guest, gift-giving ethos also significantly links to the notion that rural people are intrinsically sociable, that is genuinely friendly, honest and keen to share their good life in the country. Likewise the tourists, who are recipients of these pastorally inspired acts of generosity, are reciprocally cast as welcome guests rather than as fee-paying consumers (Smith 1989).

Most significantly, however, the promotions are aligned with, and extol the virtues of, the leisured consumption of various bucolic, urbane and reflexive phenomena that may be experienced whilst holidaying in the Wairarapa. Thus these advertisements cast holidaying in the Wairarapa, and by inference in Martinborough, as a metro-rural idyll experience.

The Martinborough promotions

The Martinborough promotions emphasised a more comprehensive mix of rural idyll and metropolitan ideals. These included detailing the urbane consumption opportunities that tourists were likely to discover in Martinborough, with a particular focus on the town and surrounding area as a metro-rural haven for connoisseurs of high quality wine, especially Pinot Noir, and gourmet dining. The advertisements also highlighted the rural idyll that tourists can expect to engage when they intentionally escape from the foibles of city living, including pristine natural (sublime) scenery, the peace and relaxation of life in the pastoral slow lane, adventure activities, and leisure with reflexive intimates. There was also a correlated focus on luxurious holiday accommodation; the familial, artisan and boutique character of wine production; and

historical, hence enduringly authentic, depth of Martinborough's 'unique' charms. For example:

“Visit Martinborough a charming, leafy, self-styled wine village and the main centre for wine touring due to the easy accessibility of its mostly small family-owned vineyards surrounding Martinborough's village square making for a unique “walk the wineries” experience...

Martinborough Wine Village

Martinborough was founded by John Martin in 1881 near Wharekaka, New Zealand's first sheep station. He planned the streets in a Union Jack pattern, naming them after exotic destinations he had visited. Martinborough has become a unique wine village with over 20 boutique vineyards, most within walking distance of the charming town square. To really learn what makes this tiny area so special for producing world-beating varietals and renowned Pinot Noir, you'll need to spend some time getting acquainted with the wine, dining and sunshine.

Town Highlights

- Boutique wineries and vineyards.
- Superb dining and accommodation.
- Historic town square.
- Exploring Martinborough's past on the Vintage Village Heritage Walk.
- Martinborough Wine Centre.
- Wairarapa Growers Market (Sunday).”

(www.wairarapanz.com/martinborough.html, June 2005; Wairarapa Escape Planner 2004a: 10– 11 – emphasis in original).

Similar sentiments were articulated in the Wairarapa Times-Age's “Escape to Wairarapa” promotional website:

“MARTINBOROUGH

Wine, weddings and weekends away – that's Martinborough! A rural town who's streets are named after places the founder and members of his family travelled to around the world, so don't be surprised if you fined (sic)

yourself in New York Street, Panama, Texas, Venice or Dublin Street, you have not left town, but may well be in another world.

Kitchener, the main street... has the iconic *Martinborough Hotel* and the Wine Centre, along with a number of boutique hotels, B&B's and self-contained accommodation. In fact you are spoilt for accommodation options in this delightful town and its surrounds...

Of course many of you will want to visit your favourite vineyards and sample some of the wines on offer...

If you feel that you are happy to just hangout in Martinborough that's fine too, as the town has a couple of little gems that you can take some time out and pamper yourself at. There is a women's day spa in Strasbourg Street – Au Spa Belge, offering everything from massage, to full body treatments, tanning and is an ideal place for hair and makeup treatments for the bride and others... Turret House in Oxford Street is a French Style salon and caters for women, men, teenagers, the bride and groom..."

(<http://times-age.co.nz/escape/martinborough>, June 2005 - emphasis in original).

These advertisements cast Martinborough as a locale where individuals are encouraged to nurture, celebrate and affirm their reflexive selves – “you can take some time out and pamper yourself” (<http://times-age.co.nz/escape/martinborough>, June 2005). Likewise, the focus on weddings, in which ideally autonomous individuals affirm their idiosyncratic romantic choices and conspicuously avow their most intimate pure relationships (Giddens 1991), also celebrated the intentionally reflexive subject. Moreover, the promotions emphasise the middle class and reflexive moral imperative of ‘feeling good’, which tourists often deployed as an evaluative framework (Campbell 1987: Giddens 1991) to ascertain the worth of their personal Martinborough experiences.

The urban–rural dichotomy was emphasised, with Martinborough as a “rural town” (<http://times-age.co.nz/escape/martinborough>, June 2005) complete with a “village

square” (www.wairarapanz.com/martinborough.html, June 2005) and the Wairarapa in general cast as a “whole new world ... just waiting to be explored” (Wairarapa Times-Age, 1996: 2). Many of these apparently pastorally situated attractions are, however, exemplars of the type of phenomena that middle class individuals typically desire and conspicuous consume in their everyday, urban-based lives. Thus Martinborough is cast as a metro-rural idyll, firstly via repeated mentions of the closeness of the Wairarapa (and by association Martinborough) to Wellington. Although ostensibly highlighting the small amount of travelling time necessary to escape to pastoral enchantment, the promotions also infer that the Wairarapa is not too dissimilar, nor rustically backward in the various social and cultural attractions it has to offer the discerning traveller. Thus Martinborough is not only easily accessible in terms of travel, but those with essentially middle class, urbane sensibilities will also find that their tourism experience resonates with and affirms their cosmopolitan lifestyles.

Although Martinborough is cast as a “charming, leafy, self-styled wine village” (www.wairarapanz.com/Martinborough.html, June 2005), the cosmopolitan traveller should not “be surprised.. [to find themselves] in New York Street, Panama, Texas, Venice or Dublin Street” (<http://times-age.co.nz/escape/martinborough>, June 2005). Thus the advertisement not only emphasises the entangled bucolic and urbane charms of Martinborough, but specifically invokes the idealised metro-rural experience that awaits the discerning, middle class metropolitan: “You have not left town, but may well be in another world” (<http://times-age.co.nz/escape/martinborough>, June 2005). In this regard the advertisements clearly assume that the ideal sociality desired by tourists was first composed in their urban settings of home, work, etc and similarly that their dispositional desire for the leisured consumption of gourmet foods, luxurious decors etc were first stimulated in city-based restaurants, cafés, hotels, and urban homes.

Although the advertisements promise idealised experiences of sociality and middle class consumption, the rurality of the Wairarapa and Martinborough is not framed as necessarily superior to Wellington city, which is regarded as “vibrant” (www.wairarapanz.com, November 2004). Rather the key tenet expressed is that Martinborough tourists can expect a more leisured, authentic and ideal experience of the cosmopolitan and reflexive phenomena they routinely desire, but do not necessarily always achieve, in their daily urban-based lives. This complex nexus of rural and

metropolitan ideals is reinforced by reference to the tourists' everyday lives that full of "stresses and cares" (Wairarapa Times-Age, 1996: 2) – by inference the daily responsibilities, constraints, and tasks of employment and domestic life. By contrast, a Martinborough holiday represents an opportunity for a timely break from the mundane, humdrumness of everyday existence, an escape to an enchanted place where the sophisticated, pre-eminent ideals of the urbane middle class are enacted every holiday day. This, in combination with the tourist operators' desire for increased trade, is the reason that the promotions often encourage individuals to undertake repeat vacations:

"Canoeing on one of our scenic rivers or quietly enjoying the countryside,
we know you will have the holiday of your life and come back for more"
(WTA, Capital Country Escape 1996: 2).

Thus Martinborough is not simply promoted as an idyllic rural township, a welcome retreat from city life, but is cast as a metro-rural idyll that encompasses the 'best' of both rural and urban existence.

In essence the everyday rurality of Martinborough is, in part, equated with the essentially intermittent and performative festive or leisure occasions (e.g. attending a show) and places (e.g. restaurants) of Wellington. As the advertisements declare, Martinborough is "on Wellington's doorstep" (Wairarapa Times-Age, 1996: 2). Thus Martinborough provides the perfect metro-rural setting for the urbane tourist's pursuit of a "myriad of activities... [including] delicious cuisine" (Wairarapa Times-Age, January 2004: 2), "world-beating varietals and renowned Pinot Noir" (www.wairarapanz.com/Martinborough.html, June 2005), "quality time [with] friendly people" (Wairarapa Times-Age, January 2004: 2) and other "recreational activities" (Wairarapa Times-Age, 1996: 2). Furthermore this was underpinned by a rural idyll notable for an abundance of "rich, broad pastures, majestic mountain valleys, shining braided rivers, and spacious uncluttered beaches" (Wairarapa Times-Age, January 2004: 2).

The urban(e) rurality of tourists

The romanticised rural idyll expressed in this advertising fundamentally reproduces the type of rurality most tourists would regularly encounter and enact within their residential urban settings (Duruz 1999; Inglis 1990). As most of tourists resided in urban areas of New Zealand their experiences of rurality were thus not only typically

episodic, but were also most likely formed through literary (e.g. via the popular cartoon Footrot Flats⁷⁸ and rural television series such as Country Calendar) and stereotypical discourses about rural places. This is also manifested via the urbane consumption of picturesque countryside landscapes depicted on calendar photographs, scenic placemats, Christmas cards and advertising (including magazine, television etc); in the farmhouse cooking exalted in cookbooks such as Stephanie Alexander's *Recipes My Mother Gave Me* (1993), Digby Law's *Pickle & Chutney Cookbook* (2006) and Jo Seagar's *New Zealand Country Cookbook* (1997); the 'natural' colours of Country Road clothing and furnishings or in the robust durability of urban-purchased Swandri and Driza-bone outdoor clothing; and in the themeing of stores such as Rodd & Gunn and on-line retail sites such as The Tin Shed (www.thetinshed.co.nz). This purposeful metro-rural blending of apparently distinctive urbane and rural phenomena is also marked in books such as Vic William's *Vineyards of New Zealand Cookbook* (2003) and *New Zealand food, wine & art: the journey continues* (2005).

I did not ascertain whether individual tourists had specifically consumed such phenomena; nevertheless, it was readily apparent that many wore Country Road, Rodd & Gunn or similar clothing. Rurally-inclined cookery books and calendars are popular fare in New Zealand and are regularly found in such middle class retail outlets such as Dymocks' bookshops and Kirkcaldie & Stains department store in Wellington. Also picturesque rural imagery and the pastoral ethos of friendly rural communities/ families regularly feature in advertising that promotes a range of commodities from new cars to outdoor furniture. More specifically, magazines (e.g. *New Zealand Home & Garden*) that regularly contain articles on similar metro-rural phenomenon (e.g. luxurious country homes, winemaker's residences and country gardens) are often provided in Martinborough homestays and are regular reading fare of Martinborough tourists (Abramovici 2002).

⁷⁸ Footrot Flats was a comic strip based around the life of a Kiwi male farmer Wal Footrot, his sheep dog , Dog and their lives on the farm Footrot Flats (hence the title). Written by New Zealand cartoonist Murray Ball, the strip ran from 1975 until 1994 in newspapers around the world. It was also published in book form (35 serial books featuring the newspaper strips and 5 smaller pocket books of original material). Footrot Flats also featured in a stage musical and in a 1986 animated feature film called *Footrot Flats: the Dog's Tail Tale*. The comic strip reached its peak of popularity in the mid 1980's, with the books selling millions of copies in Australasia.

Accordingly Martinborough is cast and enacted by tourists as an idyllic rural setting akin to an urban playground or garden, a metro–rural ethnoscape (Appadurai 1991) for the urbane elite. Prior to the establishment of the wine–industry most people would have perceived that Martinborough existed primarily as a geographical neighbourhood (Appadurai 1996: 185) where a discernable (albeit stratified by class, age, gender etc) and settled community lived, worked, and died. Nowadays Martinborough is a locale that is intentionally commodified, promoted and performed as a metro-rural tourist destination, an ethnoscape of middle class cosmopolitanism built upon the enduring moral foundations of a vernacular rural idyll.

Staging the enchanted metro-rural Martinborough

This promotional rhetoric of Martinborough as a metro-rural idyll is significantly complimented by the intentional staging on the part of winemakers, tourism operators, retailers etc, and the constructive enactment by tourists. In New Zealand, the intentional themeing of shops, fast–food restaurants and other consumption settings to create enchanted places is not as widespread as in the USA and Europe (Ritzer 1998, 2005; Urry 1995). The McKenzie Country stores, which sell expensive clothing and are themed on a stereotypical high-country store framed by stone and rough-hewn timber frontage, and The Holy Grail, which is a rugby–themed, stadium-like hotel in Christchurch, are obvious local examples of intentional themeing. In Martinborough there were several themed and enchanted places ranging from the Martinborough Hotel with its collection of pioneer paraphernalia (e.g. butter churns, oil lanterns etc – see below) through to local eateries such as Café Medici which features a forte piano decorated in Baroque–style and wall hangings painted by the owner, and well–known New Zealand artist, Stephen Allwood.

The wall hangings in Café Medici depict Renaissance-like scenes of artistic, literary and pastoral pursuits. The café is named after the Medici family, a renowned 14th–15th century Italian noble family, who are widely credited with initiating the European Renaissance through their patronage of artists such as Ghiberti, Alberti and Ucello (Cleugh 1975) and with the development of the picturesque landscape aesthetic that significantly informs contemporary notions of the rural idyll (Cosgrove 1998; Schama 1996 - see Appendix E). The efforts of luminaries such as the Medici's in ultimately

fostering the Age of Enlightenment have been linked to the emergence of reflexive individualism in contemporary societies (Giddens 1991). The café was thus intentionally themed to reflect the influence of the Renaissance in fostering the arts (especially painting) and to create a link with contemporary café culture, which is often patronised by the middle classes, many of whom are urbane *'art lovers'* (pers. comm.).

Fig.7. L.A. Campbell Ltd, a former garage and petrol station, gutted and awaiting transformation into the Martinborough Wine Centre. Part of the front of the building has been removed to enable a café courtyard to be built near the roadside and to facilitate the relocation of the Station Hotel.

The Martinborough Wine Centre is another local enchanted place (see Fig.8.). The Centre is a multipurpose retail outlet selling local wines and cookery books; houses the Martinborough Sunday Market where local food and craft producers sell their wares; and also operates the Village Café. The Wine Centre is housed in the building that was originally Jolly & Co, (circa 1917), an agent for Dresdan Pianos, and then the South British Fire Insurance, a labour bureau, the Martinborough Cycle and Motor Garage, and latterly L.A. Campbell Ltd (circa 1926), a motor vehicle dealership, garage and petrol station (Martinborough Centennial Committee 1982: 36). The building was transformed (see Fig.8.) into the Wine Centre and Village Café in 2001 with the express aim of giving patrons the chance to enjoy the *'truly rural feel of a local winery and market place'* (pers. comm.). As such it features exposed, rough-sawn timber beams and panelling, wine barrels that function as tables, a wide outdoor verandah and courtyard from which reflexive customers (note the use of the individualising “your destination” in the promotion material below) can relax and consume their meals while

watching the *'hustle and bustle of main street Martinborough'* (pers. comm.). The Centre's website promotes this rustic staging:

"The Village Café: the heart of Martinborough... Nestled in the heart of Martinborough Wine Village, The Village Cafe is your destination for a true taste of the Wairarapa. Relax in the stunning countryside style surroundings of the café and courtyards while enjoying the best of locally grown produce, cheese, beer and wine... Soak up the atmosphere that is The Village Cafe.

Sunday Market

Wander around the stalls at our weekly village market. Every Sunday, local food producers and crafts people from the region gather under one roof to sell their wares.

The market takes place in the wonderfully rustic and spacious former garage workshop at the rear of the building."

(www.martinboroughwinecentre.co.nz/centre.htm, November 2005).



Fig.8. The Martinborough Wine Centre

(www.martinboroughwinecentre.co.nz/centre.htm, November 2005).

This advertisement seamlessly aligns a former industrial "garage workshop" with a seemingly authentic and "rustic" vision of a "village market"-cum-"winery" set in "stunning countryside style surroundings" laden with wholesome produce, fine wines and local folk crafts (www.martinboroughwinecentre.co.nz/centre.htm, November 2005). This intentional staging significantly invokes the rural idyll via the promise of

fresh, tasty, clean–green produce, homemade craft products and a nostalgic connection to an intimate, harmonious rural community that is facilitated by gathering under the “one roof” of the Wine Centre’s “weekly village market” (www.martinboroughwinecentre.co.nz/centre.htm, November 2005). This rhetoric notably neglects the functional reality of a working winery, which more often than not is an austere place with concrete floors, flat barren walls and filled with stainless steel tanks, grape presses, and other industrial processing equipment. The faux character of the Wine Centre is not denied (hence the reference to “country style surroundings”), although the genuine ethos (e.g. “rustic”) of a rural village market is nevertheless proffered to tourists. This includes wholesome, hand-crafted or locally grown produce and a sociable atmosphere, which also presumably includes both the café service and the tourists enjoying time with travelling companions and a metro-rural ethos centred on the purchase and consumption of fine wine and gourmet foodstuffs.

The Martinborough Wine Centre was not alone in attempting to promulgate such a romanticised, leisure–orientated illusion of a rural idyll locale and has much in common with the faux colonial architecture of local homestays and of the domestic residences on vineyards (see Chapter 4).

Blinded by the Arcadian light

In articulating the metro-rural idyll, tourists typically ignored many of the challenging realities of operating a rural business such as a boutique vineyard, where the physical labour intensity, reliance on overseas markets, unpaid familial labour etc replicate many of the demands of operating a family farm in New Zealand (Moran et al. 1993). Nor did promotions or tourists typically focus on the possible infrastructural, social and economic demands endured by many rural inhabitants (e.g. geographical isolation, low wages, lack of employment opportunities, centralisation of services etc) in contemporary societies such as Australia, Great Britain and New Zealand (Clope 1997; Dempsey 1990; Newby 1978, 1988; Willis 2003). For example, in 1997 the nearby South Wairarapa settlements of Greytown and Featherston lost their only commercial banks, which were built and commissioned in 1873 and 1917 respectively (Wairarapa Times-Age, September 17, 1997: 3). The Wairarapa Health’s satellite hospital at Greytown was closed shortly afterward (Wairarapa Times-Age, September 18, 1997: 1) as the institution sought to centralise their services in the largest Wairarapa township of

Masterton. Martinborough, however, retained its two banks due to the high volume of mortgages held on, and business generated by, the local vineyards, tourism and hospitality industries (pers. comm.).

In the period 1997 to 2006 the number of businesses recorded in the South Wairarapa District increased from 515 to 865, mostly in commercial enterprises associated with the wine industry and development of areas such as Martinborough as tourism locales. For example, from 2000 to 2006 there were marked increases in “property and business services” (e.g. real estate agencies) from 175 enterprises to 312, in “accommodation, cafes and restaurants” (43 to 66), “construction” (91 to 110), “wholesale trade” (22 to 33), “cultural and recreational services” (19 to 27), and in “personal and other services” (e.g. house-cleaning) from 20 to 28 ([www.wdmzpub01.stats.govt.nz/Table Viewer](http://www.wdmzpub01.stats.govt.nz/TableViewer), November 2007). Furthermore, unemployment rates in the South Wairarapa of 6.4%, compared favourably with 7.5% nationwide and 6.2% for Wellington City.

Yet in 2001 the median annual income in the South Wairarapa was \$18,300NZ and although this compared favourably with \$18,500NZ nationwide, it was significantly less than the median of \$27,000NZ recorded by inhabitants of nearby Wellington City where most Martinborough tourists reside (see Appendix A: Table 5a for a similar comparison of Martinborough residents, tourists and holiday-home owner). In addition 53.6% of individuals aged 15 years and older in the South Wairarapa recorded an annual income of \$20,000NZ or less, compared with 52.8% nationwide and only 40.7% for Wellington city, and only 9.9% reported an annual income of more than \$50,000, compared with 11.5% nationwide and 22.5% in Wellington City. In the South Wairarapa District 33.4% (1,953) said they had no formal qualifications, compared with 27.6% nationwide and only 12.8% in Wellington City; 30.1% of (1,764) reported acquiring a tertiary qualification, compared with 32.2% nationwide and 48.7% of people in Wellington City; and 1,116 households or 33.6% in the South Wairarapa District reported access to the Internet, compared with 37.4% nationwide and significantly less than 52.7% for Wellington City (www.stats.govt.nz/census/2001-census-data/territorial-authority-leaflets-alphabetically.htm, November 2007).

This discrepancy in rural and urban income, education and infrastructural services is fairly typical in New Zealand, although in the South Wairarapa District the situation

has been exacerbated by the migration of low income individuals (e.g. welfare beneficiaries) moving from Wellington in the expectation of cheaper housing and living costs. Many migrants, including those on employment transfers and those moving for rural lifestyle opportunities, recorded significant drops in personal incomes once resident in the South Wairarapa (Waldegrave & Stuart 1997: 24-26).

Many tourists also favoured the metro-rurality of Martinborough over the 'raw' rurality where the focus is on the production of primary agricultural commodities such as sheep, beef, and dairy farming, which were principally regarded as economically orientated and concentrated on the profitable large-scale, mass production of agricultural commodities and as such was viewed as the equivalent of industrial manufacture in urban areas. 'Raw rurality' of primary agricultural production was thus negatively contrasted with artisan-like creativity and skill that ideally characterises the metro-rural production of boutique wines, designer crafts and gourmet foodstuffs and was not therefore accorded a high leisure or consumption value by tourists.

Consequently, the fundamental economic and social functions of rural places, which are arguably to provide the environment, labour and services necessary to produce agricultural commodities for market sale, were either completely ignored or not highly valued by most tourists. Instead tourists' discussions and assessments of Martinborough's rurality routinely centred on the bucolic. For example, tourists would often spontaneously enthuse over the picturesque and orderly qualities of vineyards, while rarely commenting positively on cow milking sheds. Coincidentally a similar focus on form, colour and organized contour also provides the fundamental aesthetic basis for many urban flower gardens (both domestic and in public parks). Few tourists, however, appeared to be aware of, or at least expressed an interest in, the commercial, technical and functional rationalities that largely dictate the order and symmetry that is characteristic of a vineyard layout.⁷⁹ Optimal use of available land in commercial

⁷⁹ It is important to note that there was a marked gender difference in the visitors' construction and engagement of metro-rural Martinborough. For example, males were more likely to be interested in the technical aspects of wine production (i.e. methods, seasonal variations, new grape varieties, wine styles or blends, awards/medals won etc), while their female counterparts, though often equally interested in taste variations and styles of wine, were generally more keen on the social aspects of production (e.g. in the life history and future plans of winemakers' families). This ethos was also noticeable in their engagement with other retailers and homestay owners, with male tourists mostly interested in the business side of such endeavours and female tourists more concerned with the proprietor's biographies and their reasons for establishing businesses in Martinborough.

grape-growing and in most other forms of agriculture is a highly significant financial imperative. Recently vineyards in Martinborough have been planted using sophisticated Global Positioning Systems (GPS) that not only plot the physical layout of rows and individual posts to maximise the number of vines that can be effectively planted, but also ensures optimal orientation of vines to the east-west sun movement. The GPS systems utilised to construct a vineyard are also be used to also operate other equipment such as tractors and automated grape-pickers in a working vineyard, thereby increasing operational efficiencies.

Thus the economic, social and physical realities of rural existence were characteristically pushed into the background by tourists. Whenever I attempted to discuss these issues with tourists their eyes would typically glaze over (Howland 2004: 89), as one told me: *'I'm not really interested in all that. I came here to drink good wine and have a good time'* (Male, mid 40's). When tourists venture to Martinborough, flaunting their metro-rural idyll sensibilities and wearing the rose-coloured glasses of the romantic gaze, "the sun literally blinds them to the real lie of the land" (Howland 2004: 89).

Sustaining the idyllic performance

The intentional framing and staging of Martinborough as a metro-rural locale clearly provided performative opportunities for tourists to conspicuously display their middle class cultural, social and reflexive capitals (McCracken 1990; Veblen 1925), which were often embodied (via dress, bodily deportment, social demeanours etc) within the actions of holidaying individuals. For example, tourists picnicking on vineyards typically wore fashionable, yet casual summer clothing, including long floral dresses and straw hats that denoted their leisurely and recreational ethos. Picnic paraphernalia characteristically included a wicker picnic basket, gourmet finger foods (e.g. cheeses, smoked chicken pieces) and wine purchased from the vineyard. The tourists' social interactions were mostly good-natured, companionable and discussions about the vineyard would often focus on its picturesque, scenic elements. The tourists were thus in contrast with workers on the vineyard, who were notable for their hard-wearing, often dirty work clothes; who usually ate lunch of home-made sandwiches and mugs of tea; and whose discussions about the vineyard centred on work-related issues such as bird-scaring (Howland 2004: 93).

This social distinction was especially marked whenever tourists paid for the recreational opportunity to assist grape-pickers. Margrain and Dry River vineyards operated tourism activities in which fee-paying individuals were enabled to experience grape-picking first-hand. The promoters said the experience would increase the tourists' understanding of wine production, provide an enjoyable and novel leisure activity, and would enhance their '*personal sense of closeness*' (pers. comm.) to the next vintage. At Margrain the tourists were to enjoy a "Harvest lunch with the 'pickers'" (The Dominion, March 30, 2000: 21), however, most of the workers lunched away from the area designated for tourists. Moreover, as many tourists arrived wearing leisurewear (including in some cases, women wearing high-heeled shoes), they were typically disinclined to soil their clothing by picking grapes, which due to the inevitable run-off of juice from split grapes can be a messy activity. Thus most tourists simply 'played around' picking grapes for only a few minutes and appeared more interested in enjoying their harvest lunch and listening to the informative, and often amusing, anecdotes from their hosts about the wine industry.

Many of the consumption activities in Martinborough were intentionally staged to enable conspicuous, social distinction displays by tourists. From dining at sidewalk cafés through to leisurely strolling around the vineyards enjoying the picturesque scenery, many tourists were conscious that they were sending, observing and receiving messages about their social status. This ethos was encapsulated in the notion of '*people watching*' that many tourists said they enjoyed or indulged in. Holiday-makers who leisurely strolled through the vineyards or around the streets of Martinborough, '*taking in the sights*' in the manner of a flâneur⁸⁰, engaged in very similar actions to those individuals who recreationally walk along the Oriental Bay seaside boulevard in Wellington. They moved at a similar pace, adopting a gait that enabled them to visually inspect things of interest (bucolic and social) while talking intimately with their walking companions. As one tourist told me:

'Half the fun of coming to Martinborough is to watch other people... to see what they are wearing, eating or drinking and of course my husband also

⁸⁰ The flâneur is the stroller, the pedestrian who finds delight and pleasure in ambling contentedly and unhurriedly through the city. To promenade without purpose is the highest ambition of the flâneur (Jenks 1995).

has a keen eye on what other men are driving... in many ways it as much about everyone dressing up to impress each other as it is about enjoying yourself (Female, Wellington resident, Manager, mid-40's).

Many tourists said they '*celeb watched*', keen to spot well-known individuals, ranging from international and national celebrities through to individuals of significance in their particular social circles (e.g. their '*bosses*', business competitors etc), and to observe '*what they are up to*'. As one tourist told me, they kept an eye out for what was '*hip*' by watching if notable others were devotees of certain Martinborough restaurants or vineyards, and by reading the columns of wine and food critics who might recommend a specific venue and thus instantly create a '*place to be seen at*'.

Many locals, especially farm and vineyard workers, were similarly conscious of touristic displays of social distinction and that their own socio-economic standing was considered comparatively inferior by many of the tourists. They were also aware that they were working while tourists were at leisure, that their occupational activities were something the tourists '*watched*' for amusement, and lastly that they could not typically afford to purchase the commodities (especially wine) that their labour had produced. I was reminded of how sensitive this awareness of differentiated social distinction was when shopping midweek in Martinborough wearing a dirt-stained tee-shirt, torn work-shorts and gumboots after a morning of mowing lawns and gardening at my nearby homestay. In this garb I definitely felt that I looked like a local (i.e. a resident worker) or was at least inconspicuous as a Wellington urbanite. I had to quickly relinquish this notion, however, when a sun-beaten individual standing behind me as I quietly queued for the supermarket checkout unexpectedly asked me '*How's the sea?*' I had not met his man before, but was later to learn was a fisherman from Ngawi, a coastal settlement approximately 40kms south of Martinborough. Bemused by his question I stammered in reply: '*I'm sorry what?*', when he looked me in the eye and said: '*You're a townie aren't you. Thought you might know how the sea was blowing up in the [Wellington] harbour*'. After paying for my groceries I asked the man how he knew I was a '*townie*' (i.e. a Wellington or city-resident) and he told me that my '*gumboots were too clean*' and only a '*townie would buy such fancy bread*'.

Many long-time or permanent residents also noted the increasing number of expensive cars around Martinborough, and the pressure this put on car parking near the town square especially at the weekends. One former Martinborough resident told me that he became fully aware of how much the town had changed when he had to wait at an intersection *'for six cars to pass'* before he could drive around the town square:

'I'd never had to wait for more than one or maybe two vehicles. I knew then that Martinborough had changed forever and made up my mind to leave'
(Male, late 20's, former Martinborough resident).

Fig.9. Young boys 'hanging out' in the centre of the Memorial Square and monitoring the weekenders visiting Martinborough.

Members of the *'Senior Ladies Brigade'* (an informal group of long-time Martinborough residents – see Chapter 5) had a friendly competition to spot the *'most up-to-date'* car number plate on the assumption that only a *'townie'* could afford to own a late model car. Likewise a group of young Martinborough school-children, who regularly spent their weekends playing around the Memorial Square in the centre of town (see Fig.9.), claimed they could tell you how many Porsches, Mercedes and other expensive cars were in Martinborough at any one moment.

These examples illustrate how conspicuous displays of late model and expensive car ownership, and accordant leisured mobility, is associated with high socio-economic status and how various notions of mobility (economic, social and recreational) are directly implicated in the transformation of Martinborough into a metro-rural wine

village. In the late 1800's a trip to Martinborough from Wellington usually took two days on horseback over rough terrain (Bagnall 1976), although it may now be traversed by car, and in air-conditioned comfort, in just over an hour. In the late 1800's through to the mid 1990's those who regularly travelled between the two locales were either traders plying goods and services to the burgeoning farming communities, or the social elite of Wellington who whose primary purpose in travelling was to oversee the management of their farms, to partake in various rural leisure pursuits such as hunting and horse-racing and to enjoy various social events such as entertaining guests, holidaying with extended family and seasonal dances (Bagnall 1976; Nicholls 1985,1990; McIntyre 2002). Ownership of a country estate was a visible marker of high social and economic status as only those who could afford to maintain horses and carriages, and who could take time away from city-based employment or other financial endeavours made recreational trips over the Rimutaka Hills (Nicholls 1990). In contemporary times the main traffic over the Rimutaka Hill is likewise undertaken for social (i.e. visiting friends and family), leisure orientated (i.e. tourism activities) and/or commercial (i.e. transportation of goods for farms, vineyards etc) purposes. For example, in 2003 the Wairarapa region attracted 850,000 day visitors and 428,000 overnight visitors who stayed a total of 1.32 million nights. Visitor nights were dominated by VFR's (Visiting Friends and Relatives – 632,000), while holiday travel accounted for 391,000 nights, and business, education and other travel generated 296,000 nights (Tourism Research Council 2004: 3).

An overall improvement in communications, especially better roadways and the more effective, faster and affordable modes of transport (especially cars, trains and buses), has, however, clearly enables more effective and efficient commute over the hill for recreational purposes. Moreover, the capacity and desire to travel between Martinborough and Wellington has clearly trickled down (McCracken 1990) to the middle-classes and below. Now, and as in the late 1880's, the ability to travel to the Wairarapa is predicated on being able to meet the expense of transport; the financial wherewithal to afford guest accommodation or the right social connections (e.g. a friend or family member who can offer shelter); and the cultural capital (i.e. how to appreciate fine wine and order a cappuccino). Those who travel in 'style' (i.e. by helicopter) enjoy a higher socio-economic status than those who travel by public transport (i.e. by train or bus). Martinborough is now a lot closer to Wellington,

especially in terms of minimal travelling time and the numbers of individuals who have the capacity to successfully complete such a trip. Martinborough's transformation into a metro-rural playground for jaded, middle-class urbanites means that it is also a lot closer to an idealised metropolitan way of life.

The episodic idyll

Historical and contemporary advocates of the rural idyll typically recommend periodic rural retreat, a recurrent sojourn away from the city for purposes of recuperation and regeneration. The episodic and essentially limited character of this immersion into rural life readily assists in upholding the corresponding, yet seemingly contradictory, notions of the rural idyll and the superiority of urban existence. Firstly, a rural retreat in does not invoke an extreme neo-Romantic, wholesale rejection of the dangers and undesirability of city life. Rather it is a purposefully finite period of withdrawal, rest and replenishment. The episodic and intermittent structures of rural tourism were also significantly augmented by the "tourist bubble" (Smith 1989: 9; see also Jacobsen 2003), or comfort zone of urbanity, that was typically favoured by many holidaymakers. Secondly, the capacity to undertake a limited withdrawal from city life and to indulge in the pleasure-seeking delights clearly signifies that one possesses the economic, social, cultural and political capitals to enable voluntary, leisured movement to, temporary inhabitation within, and lavish consumption, of a rural idyll. An intentionally structured rural retreat also affirms the intent to return to one's city-based occupational and domestic life. Thus a Martinborough metro-rural holiday may function to remind the jaded urbanite of, and to (re)immerse them in, the finer things of life. From the reflexive joy of the intimate companionship of friends or lovers through to the appreciative consumption of good food, great wine and picturesque landscapes, a rural retreat can reinvigorate a world-weary palate for middle class cosmopolitanism and reflexive individuality by providing a concentrated, ideal and leisurely setting in which such exemplary practices can be indulged.

The tourists' transitory engagement with Martinborough significantly enabled the unproblematic maintenance of their rural idyll notions, especially as they were rarely confronted by rural hardships or could momentarily ignore their presence. The fact that most tourists' travelled by motor vehicles, the majority in private cars and the rest in tour buses, distanced them from the elemental aspects of rurality and potentially

intensified the idealisation of their romantic gaze and reflexive individualism. Travelling in a motor vehicle, cocooned in air-conditioned and surround-sound comfort, effectively sheltered the tourists from the physical (e.g. weather, smells etc) and social (e.g. local farmers etc) elements of Martinborough and its surrounding rural environs. The physicality of the traversed landscape's varied topography and the distance between locales was also drastically abridged (compared with time and effort required to walk the same distances). The act of travelling in a car, train or plane reduces the grounded physicality and sociality of traversed places to image, which much like a film or television show is gazed upon and often complimented by background (and self-selected) music played on vehicle's CD system. Framed by the car windows, the rurality of Martinborough is thus observed by tourists as spectacle, preferably picturesque and pastoral, which is abstractly viewed as their vehicle speeds past (Sheller & Urry 2000). The distancing of elemental rurality significantly enabled tourists to construct and maintain an accelerated romantic gaze (Bell 2001; Urry 1990); one that was almost instantaneously constructed, accessed and enacted as image aesthetics of a picturesque rurality on which the tourists' could effortlessly position their metro-rural idyll desires. Most tourists were thus effectively distanced from, and only intermittently engaged, the gambit of ruralities in the Wairarapa (i.e. from industrial farming to economic deprivations and urbane tourism etc) and their rural and metro-rural idyll constructs were maintained in relatively unproblematic ways.

In addition, one's travelling companions were personally chosen when travelling by private car, or were at least civilly ignored when travelling in the company of strangers on public transport. Contemporary travel is therefore frequently deployed as an opportunity to reaffirm one's reflexive individuality, an ethos that was further emulated whenever groups of friends or acquaintances hired buses or mini-vans for wine tours to Martinborough. Consequently the social distance between the motoring tourist and local rural inhabitants is routinely maintained and is only collapsed whenever a tourist intentionally stops their motor vehicle, alights, and attempts to engage in social intercourse with a rural inhabitant or whenever unintended social interaction occurs.

Reflexive, compartmentalised and episodic holidaying can also significantly distance individuals from the mundane necessities of their everyday life (e.g. employment, routine domestic duties etc). Many tourists commented that *'getting away'* or *'having a*

break’ from their work and home was one of the key attractions of a Martinborough holiday. In addition this sporadic, leisured movement away from home also assisted in maintaining the romanticized notions of the purposefully staged metro-rural idyll of Martinborough. The episodic, fleeting engagement with the tourism and hospitality industries meant that consideration of many of the socio-economic structures of rural tourism (e.g. low-paid tourism/ hospitality occupations etc) were not subjected to in-depth or long-term scrutiny by tourists. The managed civility and emotional labour (Hochschild 1983) of front-line staff in the tourism and hospitality industries also provided another barrier to such considerations and thus minimized the potential for disruption of the tourists’ pastoral desires and experiences.

In post-modern societies the motifs and practices of mobility, ranging from the spatial capacities enabled by express global travel through to the ceaseless hyper-flows of ideas, images and texts, are evermore valued and central to the autobiographical narratives of ideal reflexive individuality and elite social distinction (Appadurai 1990; Clifford 1997; Gupta & Ferguson 1997). Those who are essentially ‘fixed’, trapped in welfare benefit queues, low-rent housing estates and in cheap, bulk-buy supermarkets, are thus cast as socially inferior; while those who are highly mobile, who purposely move into upmarket housing subdivisions, up corporate ladders or episodically to the most fashionable holiday resorts, are contrastingly deemed to be the socially and reflexively praiseworthy. Not all journeys away from home are, however, equal and clearly those furthest away (physically, culturally, socially etc) are the most alien and risky. Conversely those localities close to one’s home are more likely to resonate with comfort-zone familiarity (Duruz 1999). Such locales may therefore possess the potential, especially when purposefully enacted within frameworks of pleasurable, leisured urbane consumption and fashionable ephemerality as exemplified by episodic holidays, to significantly enable the romanticised pursuit of both foreign (distanced from home) and resident (home-based) ideals. Hence, Martinborough, which is only one hour’s drive from the capital city of Wellington, is routinely cast by tourists as only a small cultural and social step away and one which enhances the cosmopolitan of the urbane travellers who episodically flit between the two locales.

Rustic Martinborough

Linking the rural idyll with a lost Golden Age, or with a utopian future yet to be realised in the city, perpetually situates the countryside in the historical and past, significantly distanced from the progressive developments of cities, which are correspondingly cast as the centres of political, cultural and social power (Ching & Creed 1997; Williams 1973). Hence rurality has been, and often is, cast as rustic and inferior. Permanent rural inhabitants are thus often regarded as peasant or low others, and their ways of life are routinely marginalised and ranked near the bottom rung of socio-economic evolutionary ladders (Ching & Creed 1997; Newby 1978; Williams 1973). For example, rural peasants in the 15th century landscape art were depicted as slow-witted, with diminutive physiques and dressed in uniformly dull attire, and as bringing their wares into the city for sale “almost as tribute” (Cosgrove 1998: 91). Similarly, many visitors to Martinborough, whether day-trippers or ‘*two day locals*’⁸¹ (i.e. individuals who own holiday homes), who routinely celebrated the virtues of the rural idyll, also often held contradictory and derisive views of rural ways of life. Many thought that rural people were rustic, that is socially, technologically, economically and politically backward, especially when compared with the sophistication and refinement of middle-class urbanites (including tourists or recent rural migrants such as winemakers). Thus many tourists whilst maintaining the notion that a Martinborough holiday enabled them to experience an idealised Golden Past of rurality were not entirely starry-eyed and many had concerns about their vacation experiences (see Appendix D).

Foremost were complaints concerning the high cost of commodities such as wine, restaurant or café meals, and various retail products (e.g. deli foodstuffs, designer clothing). As one tourist told me:

⁸¹The recent incursion of individuals who have established weekend holiday homes in Martinborough are derisively referred to by long-time residents as ‘*two-day locals*’ – thus highlighting their perceived limited residency and predominantly ‘user’ or consumerist attitude toward the township, its infrastructural resources, and its community:

‘They come over the hill every weekend in their four-wheel drives, drink wine all weekend and then bugger off... meanwhile they are putting real pressure on the town’s water supply, sewage and so on. Sure they spend money but they are also driving property prices up and contribute nothing to the local community...during the week Martinborough is like a ghost town with only us oldies wandering around the place. Sure they might drive flash cars and build fancy houses, but really they are just bludgers. Martinborough’s just not the same place anymore’ (Long-time resident; male; aged over 65; retired).

'I just can't get over the price of wine and cafés over here. I understand that the wine is top quality and I will buy it as a special treat, but in the cafés you are paying as much you do in Wellington' (Female, mid 30's, government analyst, Wellington resident).

Many also stated that as Martinborough was *'a rural place'* and shop rentals, labour costs etc should be cheaper than in city locations, accordingly the retail cost for consumable commodities ought to be comparatively less. Retailers responded to such complaints by noting that their rentals were equivalent with those on Lambton Quay, a main shopping street in Wellington, that they sold superior quality products, and that they offered a more *'personalised'* service.

Tourists also derided the rustic *'quality of service'* they received in Martinborough's restaurants, café's, hotels, and tourist accommodation. Typically the service of waitresses, bar-tenders, and to a lesser extent, accommodation providers, was perceived as *'lacking finesse'* or an appropriate understanding of the sophisticated expectations of an urbane traveller:

'Some of waitresses simply have no idea. It like they just stepped off the farm. I mean when you are paying through the nose for a meal in a good restaurant you expect top quality service' (Tourist, male, mid-40's, manager, Wellington resident).

Other complaints included that restaurant service was *'too slow'*, that waiters/waitresses were inattentive, and that accommodation was not well serviced in terms of quality linen, towels, and especially services such as Internet connections etc. In addition, there was common criticism that vineyards and their wine shops were often not open to visitors (see Fig.10.), or that shops in Martinborough were closed during the week (especially on Mondays) and early on the weekends.

There were also complaints from both tourists and permanent residents about the excessive noise or industry of vineyards, especially during spring when helicopters are deployed to hover above vineyards to dissipate early morning frosts and during the summer months when loud, cannon-sounding bird-scarers and shotguns are frequently used to frighten birds away from the ripening grapes. Some tourists also said they were often aggravated by early-morning topdressing planes, noisy movement of livestock,

and tractors operating on nearby farms. For example, one homestay operator was found by the Wellington Disputes Tribunal to have falsely advertised their cottage as “peaceful” and thus breached a contract with a guest who was awoken by a bird-scaring gun on a nearby vineyard at 7am in the morning (Wairarapa News 1999, June 2: 5). Another homestay operator told me they have had guests who have requested refunds or reductions of their accommodation tariffs because the ‘*weather was bad*’ while they were holidaying in Martinborough.

Fig.10. The type of closed/ sold out sign on a Martinborough vineyard that impeded the ideal reflexive consumerism of tourist.

These complaints cast certain aspects of the Martinborough tourism industry as rustic or as inappropriately industrial, and thus highlight some of the difficulties in maintaining the urbane sophistication central to the metro-rural idyll. They also essentially reaffirm the superiority of the tourists’ urbane, city-based lifestyles. The common perspectives of tourists clearly frame Martinborough as a metro-rural retreat, an idealistic phenomena compartmentalised in time and space, that accordingly should be pristine and ideal in its manifestations of both the rural (re: green fields, good weather, tranquillity) and the urbane (re: refined service, high tech/quality commodities). Nevertheless, as many tourists perceive that Martinborough is essentially rurally-based, and hence populated by hard-working, yet fundamentally naïve country folk, they clearly believed that any metro-rural commodities and services should be proffered at bargain prices when compared with the cost for similar phenomena in city locales. Through this combination of complaint and urbane ideal expectations many middle class tourists essentially demanded high-quality, cosmopolitan commodities and

associated service at bargain-basement rates. This ethos essentially cast Martinborough as inferior to the city, a rustic setting in which local people are expected to produce and perform at urbane levels, but not to expect, perhaps even appreciate, the metropolitan worth of their local endeavours.

Conclusion

Tourists, in a dialogical relationship with tourism promoters, intentionally framed and staged Martinborough as a rural idyll in which picturesque farmscapes and vineyards; pristine nature; intimate families and communities; and progressive, artisan-like and biographised production were significantly idealised. The hyperbolic promotion of the rural idyll, in combination with the tourists' episodic and detached engagement with the elemental rurality of Martinborough, largely obscured from their gaze the 'realities' of the countryside, including various socio-economic hardships of farming, infrastructural deprivations and even the privations of tourism provisioning.

Most tourists, though lacking in any critical awareness of the long history of similar beliefs in European and New Zealand pioneer societies, also perceived that the pastoral qualities they attributed to Martinborough were nevertheless enduring and were therefore intrinsically moral and socially worthwhile. Like most advocates of the rural idyll, the tourists did not typically desire a wholesale return to rural ways and the vernacular rural idyll of Martinborough thus provided a moral and corroborating setting for their metropolitan-generated desires. Martinborough was accordingly staged as a metro-rural playground to which the usually city-domiciled, middle class tourists could temporarily retreat and indulge in performative displays of urbane consumption, social distinction, reflexive sociality, and in pampering or gifting the self.

Embedded within the metro-rurality of Martinborough's there was also a capacity for the conspicuous negotiation of both generalised and hierarchical middle class status. Those who holidayed in the finest rooms of the Martinborough Hotel, who purchased expensive Pinot Noir, displayed connoisseur-like sensibilities or could boast of close friendships with renowned winemakers, were comparatively accorded higher status than those bereft of such attributes. This was countered, however, by the structural capacity of tourists' to conspicuously enact their personal tastes and consumption choices, and to utter socially acknowledged and justificatory narratives of reflexive

distinction, all of which enabled individuals of disparate status or aspirations to persistently assert an autonomous, coherent, and praiseworthy self.

Imaginariness and performances of the metro-rural idyll did not, however, completely dominate the tourists' perceptions, practices and discourses of holidaying. Many complained about the rustic, backward character of some of Martinborough's residents and especially those employed in the hospitality and restaurant trades. Others grizzled about the high prices of Martinborough's urbane commodities and took umbrage when the industrial aspects of wine making and other agricultural enterprises disrupted their idyllic experiences. These complaints, however, only served to further underscore the entangled rural and metro-rural idylls central within Martinborough's wine tourism experiences. The promotional casting and intentional staging of Martinborough as a metro-rural idyll thus reflected the tourists' habitus and provided fields of action for their performative deployments of middle class distinction and ideal reflexive individuality.

In Chapter Four I examine how this entangled nexus was manifested in the tourists' place constructs of Martinborough, which included the picturesque, neighbourly, romantic, historical cosmopolitan and Euro-chic. Many perceived of Martinborough as a picturesque rural idyll and most tourists shared a minimal expectation that its agriculture and nature be pristine. Many tourists also believed Martinborough's agriculture should ideally be dedicated to the progressive, innovative and quality production of urbane commodities such as wine; the in-situ consumption of which clearly denoted their middle class social distinction. Tourists' also characteristically adulated the social intimacy of rural families and communities. However, while many engaged perceived ideals of rural friendliness and waved hello to strangers, most with dependent, live-at-home children left them behind whilst holidaying. As such Martinborough was cast a romantic locale in which idealised rural sociality was deployed to morally underpin the tourists' desires and performances of reflexive sociality. Similarly the historical casting of Martinborough was perceived to provide an enduring and hence socially worthwhile foundation for the tourists' dispositional pursuit of cosmopolitan tastes as manifested in luxurious accommodation, interior design etc. The tourists' cosmopolitanism was complimented by pervasive references to an idealised, transnational ethos of Euro-chic, which was evident in the faux, stylised

French, Tuscan and European referencing of various tourism phenomena ranging from vineyard architecture to homestay promotions.

Chapter Four:

The Metro-rural Martinboroughs

Introduction

All places dialogically resonate with the habitus of those influential in their construction. Consequently there are a multitude of Martinboroughs dynamically recreated via the intersubjective ideas, practices, and interactions of various individuals ranging from everyday inhabitants to fleeting visitors and those who textually engage, perceptually classify or simply imagine (Bender 1993; Bender & Winer 2001; Casey 1993; Ching & Creed 1995; Hillier and Rooksby et al. 2002; Tilley 1994; Urry 1995). All places are also translocal (Bender 1993; Casey 1993) and thus the tourists' place constructs dynamically reference vernacular (historical and contemporary) rural idylls, as well as stylised European metropolitanism and other equally romanticised places (e.g. sublime nature).

This eclecticism is reflected in the variety of architectural and design styles that are deployed in the homestays, hotel/ lodges and private holiday homes of Martinborough, which are typically reproduced to exacting middle class standards of technology and comfort. These range from vernacular rural styles (e.g. corrugated iron on exterior walls) and stylish, contemporary technologies (e.g. Bose stereo systems), through to elegantly renovated pioneer cottages, historical villas and transnationally inspired, neo-modernist residences. The mixture of re-use (i.e. historical/ rural) and contemporary architecturally design reflects the entangled rural gentrification and metropolitanism of many holiday or second homes in New Zealand tourism locales. It also reflects an ongoing debate "between 'pure modernism' and regional manifestations" (Clark and Walker 2000: 38). Although in Martinborough the vernacular rural is characteristically deployed for stylistic effect and has not resulted in the heritage retention of 'traditional', owner-built baches or cribs that is typical of some holiday locales (Keen & Hall 2004: 178-182).

Foremost amongst the tourists' place constructs was the casting of Martinborough as a picturesque locale, which was typically evident in their unsolicited comments,

overheard conversations and in response to direct questioning (see Appendix D). Although the tourists' primary focus appeared to be on the surface aesthetics (Bender 2002) of the rural idyll, the romantic gaze (Urry 1995 – see Appendix E) they employed ultimately underscored Martinborough as an exemplary metro-rural locale dedicated to their conspicuous regimes of urbane consumption, sociality, leisure and reflexive individuality. The tourists' likewise positioned Martinborough as a neighbourly locale and many thus regarded Martinborough as an ideal rural township in which intimate sociality in the form of affable community and family relationships were the expected norm. As noted the majority of tourists did not, however, attempt to replicate this idealised rural sociality whilst holidaying in Martinborough, aside that is from waving hello to strangers and desiring reflexive, biographised sociability with local producers. Rather, most sought the experience of intimate social connectedness through their performative enactment of Martinborough as a romantic locale in which '*quality time*' with reflexively valued, intentionally selected others was paramount.

Many also commented favourably on Martinborough's historical settings, especially old villas and cottages operated as tourist homestays (e.g. The Old Manse Homestay) and the township's old buildings, which housed various retail outlets (e.g. Pepper's Martinborough Hotel – see Fig.19.). This veneration was, however, typically generalised or non-specific in terms of chronological time or epochs. It therefore referenced a mythical Golden Past (of cohesive communities, artisanship etc) and also resonated with the tourists' romanticised constructs of the vernacular rural idyll. Tourists did not seek a nostalgic return to a Golden Past of colonial villas and cottages, but rather desired that Martinborough's various historical settings be updated to their exacting urbane, middle class standards. As with the tourists' idealisation of rural sociality, the celebratory historical staging of Martinborough fundamentally emphasised the apparent enduringness and innate social worthiness of such constructs, which are deployed to endorse their metro-rural aspirations and performances of middle class distinction and ideal reflexive individuality.

The tourists' metro-rural cadence was further highlighted in their construction of cosmopolitan and Euro-chic Martinborough. These were essentially performative places in which the tourists' urbane refinement was firstly contrasted with lesser valued rustic, pre-wine industry or lower-class Martinborough constructs (e.g. the '*working*

class' Pukemanu Hotel – see below). They were also referenced transnational mediascapes and ethnoscapas of middle class distinction (Appadurai 1991; Clifford 1997; Friedman 1994 & 2002), which are associated with an idealised and stereotypical European lifestyle as variously typified by Martinborough's faux French architecture and '*French tradition*' of fine wine (see Chapter 5). Thus the casting and performative enactment of Martinborough as a rural idyll was not simply an embodied confirmation of the tourists' picturesque sensibilities, but rather supported their metro-rural aspirations and desires.

Picturesque Martinborough

Many tourists remarked favourably on Martinborough's '*clean, green environment*', which they routinely ascribed to the agricultural (principally sheep farming)⁸² and horticultural (especially vineyards and olives) enterprises surrounding the township. For example, many noted the prettiness and neatness of the vineyards and were clearly enamoured with the manicured look of the trellised vines and their surrounds: '*I love driving or walking around looking at all the vineyards...everything's so tidy with hundred and hundreds of rows of grapes, it's very pretty*' (Female tourist, early 40's, from Hamilton). Different types of farms, with their '*large open, green fields*', '*pretty and neat*' vineyards or '*relaxed, peaceful*' olive groves were customarily thought to be '*more in tune with nature*' and thus were contrasted with the densely urbanized, often polluted and fast-paced quality of the tourists' city existence. This assigned and idealised rurality was also regarded as socially benign and tourists typically thought that Martinborough harboured harmonious rural families and communities.

This in part explains the incident of deadheading the Livingstone daisies referred to in the previous chapter. The clean, green rural aesthetic that tourists habitually desired references an idyllic or Arcadian stereotype centred on a pristine, benign and physically attractive view of the natural world. In the extreme some tourists desired a setting where the lambs were perpetually pearly white, gambolling and wagging their tails with delight, where plants produced only the ripest, plumpest and juiciest of fruits, and where decay, deformity and death were largely absent. For example, nearly all the

⁸² Sheep farming was generally regarded to be '*clean and green*' compared to the dairy farming of cows, which some tourists thought of as more '*intensive*' or industrial (especially with reference to the milking sheds).

members of a vineyard tour group I accompanied, approximately 12 or so, were alarmed by the sight of a dead lamb lying in a paddock alongside the driveway to a Martinborough vineyard. Some were so disgusted they declined to taste the wine and food offered at the vineyard for fear of ‘contamination’ from the dead lamb. I asked one individual why they were shocked, especially when any farm will have both dead and live stock at some time during its operation, and she replied: *‘That’s not the point, it is simply bad marketing to have a dead lamb lying there along the driveway to the vineyard...it really put me off’* (Wine tourist, female, mid–20’s). This perception about good or bad marketing clearly articulates a sensibility where the rural landscape, and accordant agricultural, social and other activities, should comply with idyllic imagery and pristine practices of country life.

Many others involved in Martinborough’s tourism or wine industries expressed similar sentiments and ideals, especially when likewise confronted by their absence or default. For example, during one Toast Martinborough Festival a worker from a neighbouring vineyard approached me and in a half-joking manner commented on what she regarded as the ‘untidy’ state of Pinot Noir vines that lined the driveway to Ata Rangi: *‘You could have done better than this’* she observed. When I asked what she was referring to, she replied: *‘We spent most of yesterday leaf-plucking and weeding around the vines...this is not a good look you know’*. Her surveillance and assessment was similar to mid-Canterbury farmers who routinely took ‘Sunday drives’ around the local district to evaluate the state (i.e. the conditions of fences, quality of pasture and livestock etc) of neighbouring farms (Hatch 1992). All I could personally see were a few dead leaves on the nearby vines. Such observations were, however, common among vineyard owners and winemakers, and were one of ways they assessed developments on other vineyards. As one vineyard owner told me:

‘I always like to keep an eye on what the other vineyards are doing...to check on new plantings or any new equipment they may be trying out. We share a lot of information, we have to be competitive on the world scene – but we never forget that we are also competing against each other, trying to get an advantage locally’.

Neighbourly Martinborough

Many Martinborough tourists also commented on how friendly the '*locals*' were and how everyone appeared to know one another in a '*neighbourly sort of way*'. Others said it was nice seeing gangs of children playing in streets, around the town square and at the local swimming hole by the SH.53 bridge over Ruamahanga River on the main route into Martinborough from Wellington. Many held the view that the districts' farms and vineyards had generations of families and friends '*living and working*' together and that this resulted in '*better families and better communities*'.

Tourists were principally expressing a nostalgic desire for a supposed lost Golden Age of meaningful and harmonious social relations, one that is often believed to have existed in a predominantly rural (or at least agrarian inclined) New Zealand before the 1950's (Bell 1996, 1997; Belich 2001). This Golden Age ascribes an agrarian epoch and essentially Europeanised society that existed in New Zealand long before the uncertainty, anonymity and contractual basis of the tourists' post-industrial, urbanised sociality (Beck 2002; Giddens 1991). A time when neighbours routinely assisted one another in all manner of ways from babysitting to renovating homes, when families ate evening meals together and when people enjoyed lifelong friendships with neighbours, workmates and classmates, all of whom typically lived in the same local community. One of the illusions of a mythological lost Golden Age is the overt romanticisation and harmony attributed to rural-based social relationships (historical and contemporary). For example, on one of my first forays to Martinborough I was talking to a local farmer about my research when someone drove by and shouted abuse at this individual. Seemingly nonplussed by this turn of events, the farmer explained to me that he had an ongoing dispute with the other individual over property boundary lines and wandering livestock. Such myths also overlook that New Zealand's significant urbanisation from the 1920's onwards (Grey 1994) and that the history of European settlement from early 1800's was one of a largely atomised, mobile and often violently masculine society (Fairburn 1989; Phillips 1996). New Zealand's pioneers and their descendants have always been socio-economically stratified and were typically modernist adherents of market-driven, competitive agriculture (Belich 1996; Grey 1994). Thus they never fully ascribed nor practiced the agrarian ideals of self-sustaining, collectively-orientated or Gemeinschaft-like communities.

However, such counterfactuals are largely irrelevant as far as many Martinborough tourists were concerned. Firstly, the myths of pastorally idealised sociality, like all stereotypes, contain elements of reality as Martinborough's benevolent '*Senior Ladies Brigade*' (SLB) clearly demonstrated. In 1980 a cohort of mainly female companions and widows created this informal group called, more irreverently known as the '*Sorority of Lion Breweries*', which met weekly in the local Pukemanu Tavern to share Friday lunch and conversation. One of the prime roles of the SLB was to assist elderly widows and widowers by offering emotional, social and material (e.g. grocery parcels etc) support. The group organised a monthly raffle to raise funds and held an annual Christmas party at the Pukemanu Tavern for its members and beneficiaries:

'It's a very informal group. People join and help out as they see fit...in fact I think I am the only original active member... I can't imagine this sort of thing ever happening in the Martinborough Hotel' (SLB member, female, late 60's).

The woman's comment about the Martinborough Hotel is illuminating. The Pukemanu Tavern was commonly regarded by tourists and residents as the '*locals' pub*'. Many long-time residents contrasted the Pukemanu with the '*touristy*', socially '*pretentious*' and '*sterile*' environment of the Martinborough Hotel, which they regarded as a place for tourists. In being a genuine '*local*' endeavour, both tourists and locals regarded the ethos of Pukemanu Tavern as epitomising the cohesive and intimate sociality of rural communities, although most tourists avoided the tavern as they thought it was '*a bit rough*' and thus too rustic for their metro-rural sensibilities. These associations of the altruistic SLB with the Pukemanu Tavern and of the rural-urbane contrast between the Pukemanu and Martinborough Hotel reproduced pervasive notions of the divide between the pastoral sociality of Martinborough and the social dystopia of urban Wellington.

Tourists routinely sought to identify with, and performatively experience, the positive virtues of harmony, cohesiveness and meaningful intimacy they ascribed to rural sociality. Many talked warmly about how, when walking around Martinborough or through the vineyards, they would be greeted by strangers with a '*cheery hello*'. Most said they responded in kind and equally entered into the social spirit by similarly greeting unfamiliar persons. One tourist told me that this type of sociability was

'infinitely more pleasant than rushing by and getting knocked over by angry pedestrians in Wellington'. Although as one fulltime resident of Martinborough dryly observed: *'In most cases the townies are waving to one another, most of us locals think the whole thing's bit of a hoot'* (Male, late 60's, retired)

The promotion of Martinborough as a wine village, rather than as a rural service town, also served to accentuate this perceived sense of harmonious and cohesive rural sociability. A village evokes the notion of a small, tightly knit community centred on a core of generational families who share a strong sense of ancestral and social belonging (Cohen 1982; Strathern 1981). A town, however, implies a larger and more individualistic, less kin-orientated social grouping. The addition of the term 'wine' to create the title of wine village clearly marks Martinborough as a community centred on another shared sentiment, namely the love of producing and imbibing fine wine. This effectively casts the net of community membership beyond mere kinship and thus seeks to socially embrace a *communitas* of likeminded wine drinkers (see Chapter 7). Nevertheless the association with the central sentiments of rural sociability remain important to the tourists. By conspicuously concentrating on this core tenet of harmonious agrarian sociality the tourists created effusive and ideological links that expressed, affirmed and validated the ideals that they aspired to in their personal relationships. These ranged from the episodic *communitas* (Smith 1989; Turner 1974, 1978) of individualised, yet kindred, tourists through to their intimate pure relationships.

Romantic Martinborough

My observations of, and discussions with, tourists when working at the Martinborough Information Centre, in the vineyard wine shop and in other touristic contexts clearly revealed that the majority holidayed in the company of what they regarded as intimate others.⁸³ Of the tourists I surveyed (n =156) only 28% reported travelling as family groups; the majority (59%) consisted of 'friends only'. Interestingly 73 or 47% of

⁸³ Abramovici reported from her observations that: "Practically all independent travellers appeared to be arriving as couples, this reflects the fact some couples were arriving in separate cars but were touring the vineyards together...Among those who had children, practically 80% did not bring their children with them. This information was checked by the participant observation technique which emphasised mainly couples seen wandering around the vineyard, tasting wine...[they] were observed to spend up to several hours at the vineyards, lingering, talking in low voices, sharing time together" (2002: 60). However, Abramovici's observations were made over only three days, thus her sample is somewhat limited.

respondents stated that they had dependent, ‘live-at-home’ children and of these approximately 80% holidayed in Martinborough without their children (see Appendix C; Abramovici 2002). These were mostly individuals characterised as friends or romantic lovers (see Fig.11.) as opposed to family members, the key conceptual difference being that the former were perceived as autonomous adults who had chosen to enjoy each other’s vacationing company, whilst the latter could also include dependent children who were fundamentally compelled to attend.



Fig.11. The romantic, couples ethos is particularly prevalent amongst Martinborough tourists. Above a couple attend the Toast Martinborough wine and food festival (<http://www.toastmartinborough.co.nz>, December 2006).

As a significant majority of tourists with dependent children purposefully decided to ‘*leave them behind*’ (see Appendix C – also Abramovici 2002), it is arguable that the social relationships most were seeking to ideally (re)affirm were not romanticised farming families and communities, but rather those that emphasised and celebrated their reflexive or personalised sociality. For example, one couple I met had booked their 15 year-old son into a Wellington hotel, ostensibly as a default babysitting option, while they spent the weekend ‘*romancing*’ in Martinborough.⁸⁴ Moreover, many spoke

⁸⁴ Most tourists left their dependent children with grandparents or other extended family.

of their desire and recreational need to '*spend time away*' from their dependent children:

'It's good for us to have a break from the kids – and for them to have a break from us...I really appreciate a couple of days without having to cook and clean up after the whole family' (Female tourist, Wellington resident, part-time graphic designer, mid 30's).

Although many holiday homeowners were comprised of family groups that included dependent children and/or independent, adult offspring. Many had bought their holiday homes specifically to enjoy both the pastoral delights of Martinborough and the companionship of their fellow property owners. Martinborough was significantly promoted and enacted by tourists (episodic and weekenders) as a place for adults to vacation as romantic couples or in groups of friends, and accordingly as one from which children were often absent. For example, at the Toast Martinborough Wine & Food Festivals I only ever saw half-a-dozen children in total. One promoter told me they actively discouraged children from attending by charging them the same festival entry fee as adults (pers. comm.). Indeed children were often intentionally excluded from wine orientated contexts such as tastings and vineyard visits, and a number of homestay operators told me that they also discouraged, or in some case prohibited, children from their holiday accommodation.

Some tourists noted a financial imperative in excluding children from one's holiday plans, especially as most homestays invoiced children (aged between 2–14 years) at 70–80% of the adult rate. This is in part reflected by the fact that the Martinborough homestay operators I surveyed reported only 33% of their clientele were family groups with dependent children; the majority (61%) were couples, either singular or multiple within groups of friends (see Appendix C; Abramovici 2002). Nevertheless the adult, coupled/ friendship and children-prohibited practices of tourists clearly contradicted their pastoral ideals of rural families and generational communities. Tourists' therefore essentially appropriated the sentiments of relationship intimacy and cohesiveness from their idyllic notions of rural sociality to underscore, highlight and affirm their similarly idealised renderings of reflexive sociality. This explains the high value placed on exercising personal and autonomous choice in the selection of one's travelling companions. As one tourist explained to me: *'You can choose to have children, but you*

can't choose the children you have – and I definitely need some time-out from my kids'
(Male, mid 40's).



Fig.12. A tourist clearly enjoying the 'adult' Toast Martinborough wine and food festival
(www.toastmartinborough.co.nz, December 2006).

Many tourists, both with and without dependent children, noted the importance of visiting Martinborough with intimate others. As one long-time resident of Martinborough told me:

'On the weekends the place is full of townies all walking around town holding hands and canoodling in restaurants...makes you wonder what they are all getting up to in the homestays' (Male, late 60's, retired).

The organisers of the Toast Martinborough Festival in 2005 used similar romance and friendship discourses to promote their event. On posters and in pamphlets they utilised imagery styled on 1950's movie posters, which featured a heterosexual couple, she blonde and he sporting an Elvis Presley cowlick, gazing passionately into each other's eyes whilst clinched in an amorous embrace (see Fig.13.). The accompanying text also highlighted the entangled nexus of ideal reflexive individuality, sociality and urbanity of festival participants, essentially casting them as the 'stars' of their own Toast Martinborough experience:

“TOAST MARTINBOROUGH WINE, FOOD AND MUSIC FESTIVAL... Celebrating 14 OF MARTINBOROUGH’S FINEST WINERIES ... **Starring YOU AND YOUR FRIENDS** ... Accompanied by FABULOUS RESTAURANTS” (emphasis mine).



Fig.13. The Toast Martinborough 2005 promotional poster “starring YOU AND YOUR FRIENDS” (www.toastmartinborough.co.nz, August 2006).

Earlier promotions emphasised similar themes of European, romantic, heterosexual couples enjoying the urbane consumption of wine and other gourmet foods within a rural idyll or picturesque setting (e.g. a pristine lawn – see Fig.14.) The Toast Martinborough Festival, and by association the metro-rural consumption of Martinborough per se, was thus cast as a significant catalyst for intimate social connectedness and hence as a pathway to achieving ideal reflexive individuality. The 2002 promotional poster (see Fig.15.) featured a graceful couple, he wearing tails and she a flowing ball-gown, dancing atop a slice of gourmet cheese in the background, while a young woman is depicted leisurely diving into a glass of champagne in the foreground. This imagery reproduced the pervasive association of femininity with wine (Johnson 1998) and also highlighted the innate (indeed celebratory) sociability that was routinely attributed to wine consumption by tourists and winemakers alike (see Chapter 8).

Fig. 14. The 2004 Toast Martinborough poster depicts a European, heterosexual couple enjoying the metro-rural delights of a picturesque lawn, Pinot Noir wine, and intimate social connectedness (www.toastmartinborough.co.nz, August 2006).



Fig.15. The 2002 Toast Martinborough poster depicts an elegant couple dancing atop a block of gourmet cheese, while in the foreground a young woman dives into a glass of champagne (www.toastmartinborough.co.nz, August 2006).

Many homestays, hotels and other accommodation providers also emphasised the intimate, reflexive romantic getaway and friendship aspects of a holiday in Martinborough. For example, Limestone Cottage promotions proclaimed:

“Treat yourself to a romantic weekend in this (sic) famous Martinborough vineyard district. Fully self-contained cottage within walking distance of the Square. Master bedroom with queen bed and single bed. Cosy lounge with double futon and single bed. Ideally suited to one couple or up to 4 singles...**Perfect for a romantic getaway**” (www.limestonecottage.co.nz, November 2005 – emphasis mine).

The Vynfields Cottage and Vynfields Villa (see Fig.16.) promotions created a direct link between the escapist enjoyment of a romantic holiday in Martinborough, the quixotic passions of a stereotypical movie romance and a vacation in a stylised, idyllic Italian or French setting:

**“Vynfields Martinborough
Wonderful Vineyard Escape**

If you want to retreat to seclusion in a unique vineyard environment, peaceful except when the excitement of harvest or other cyclical activities occur, then this is for you. You can either cocoon by the enormous open fire in winter or create superb cuisine on the wood barbeque and, on balmy moonlight evenings dine on the deck overlooking 12 acres of prize-winning vineyard.

What they say about it:

“We have had the most fabulous stay, your cottage is divine... It reminded us of a film 'Stealing Beauty' - we could have been in Italy.”

Kelly Layton, Julien de Montfort – Wanganui.

Vynfields Villa

Romantic Charm of Yesteryear

This villa is for you if you want to escape the modern world, sleep in antique beds beneath French chandeliers in special bed linen. Bath in a double claw footed bath with your favourite wine glass filled with complementary wine, and scent yourself with the French toiletries...

What they say about it:

"We loved your beautiful linen with the fine detail, the toiletries from Provence, and the delightful ambience" (www.vynfields.com - November 2005).



Fig.16.

Martinborough. Vynfields Villa in

Such promotions clearly invoke the notion that a Martinborough holiday is a romantic getaway embedded within the affirming enclave of an idyllic metro-rural setting of a sylvan, Euro-chic wine village. Thus the tourist can ideally expect to enjoy amorous and highly sociable indulgences in ways that simultaneously corroborate their reflexive individuality and middle class aspirations. This ethos is not mere rhetoric. Neighbours bordering a homestay in nearby Greytown, approximately 10km from Martinborough and also undergoing a significant transformation into a metro-rural destination, successfully petitioned the property's owner to erect a two-metre high fence around his property so to obscure their view of holidaying couples making love in the backyard gazebo (Howland 2004: 109).⁸⁵

⁸⁵ A number of long-time residents said that when Martinborough was a economically depressed area in the early 1970's it had several holiday homes used by individuals from Wellington as romantic hideaways, sometimes for ex-marital liaisons by socially prominent people. Although this perhaps points to a continuity of place-enactments over time, I get the distinct impression now that the hideaway aspect of Martinborough has significantly diminished since its transformation into a wine village – especially as the number of tourists who spontaneously meet friends and acquaintances from 'back home' (e.g. Wellington) while walking around the township is quite marked and presumably mitigates against the secret consummation of such clandestine entanglements.

Also noteworthy were the female-only groups of friends who visited Martinborough. I spoke with several members of such groups and they confirmed that many were 'married' with dependent children. For some the primary attraction of Martinborough was that it was a 'safe' holiday destination and the women did not anticipate being sexually harassed or 'hit on' when in public settings such as local hotels. In addition Martinborough was comparatively close to Wellington and the Hutt Valley where they resided:

'Being so close to Wellington means that I can quickly get back if there is a crisis with the kids or something... also I am not spending a lot of time travelling to enjoy a weekend away – it maximises my away time' (Female tourist, early 40's, Wellington resident).

Of course it was impossible to critically ascertain the actual state of the tourists' relationships simply from their public and performative interactions. Needless, most public displays of sociality conformed to the ideals of affability and intimacy, and those that didn't (e.g. arguing couples etc) were rare and accordingly very obvious. In my longitudinal interactions in Wellington settings with individuals who regularly holidayed in Martinborough it was, however, equally apparent that their romantic relationships sometimes existed in a disharmonious state that fundamentally contradicted those typically on display in Martinborough. Consequently I concluded that, on occasion, the romantic liaisons publicly enacted in Martinborough were either ersatz performances designed to 'hide the truth' about the deteriorated state of some relationships or were somehow compartmentalised moments that reproduced the harmonious ideals of the intimate pure relationship. In either case, Martinborough is significantly promoted and regarded by tourists as a romantic getaway destination, and that this construction of place clearly enables, inspires or perhaps compels individuals to conspicuously enact the ideals of reflexive sociality.

Historical Martinborough

Many tourists said that one of things they enjoyed about Martinborough was the 'sense of history' or 'links with the past'. Historical cottages and villas utilised as homestays (e.g. The Old Manse Homestay) and cafés, restaurants and other retail enterprises housed within historic buildings in the town centre, either in original/ renovated condition (e.g. French Bistro situated in the Old Post Office circa 1896) or faux

constructions established by Council building codes (e.g. Martinborough Wine Centre – see Fig.8. & below), were significant performative settings in which tourists engaged conspicuous displays of urbane consumption, reflexive sociality and ultimately of ideal reflexive individuality. Tourists also attributed historical import to a range of phenomena from old farmsteads, entertainment events (e.g. 1998 Gershwin Music Festival) to winemaking in the region. For example, William Beetham Jnr is widely acknowledged to be the first individual to plant grapevines in the Wairarapa in 1883 and is thus accorded the status of visionary pioneer whose efforts are now reflected in the success of contemporary Martinborough wine industry (Cooper 2002: 14, 172).

Tourists sometimes connected Martinborough with the “historical” (Appadurai 1996: 17) and thus referenced real or imagined continuities with specific moments in local or New Zealand histories (e.g. Martin’s establishment of Martinborough as a rural township). The tourists, however, mostly focused on general “genealogical” (Appadurai 1996: 17) epochs such as the historical emergence of a French wine culture, which sets contemporary benchmarks for quality wine (see Chapter 8) or the colonial foundations of a vernacular rural idyll (see Appendix E). In many instances the referencing to historical embodiments were either vague (e.g. in ‘*olden times*’) or eclectic and thus drew upon a mixture of eras differently located across both time and space. For example, the Gershwin Festival held in Martinborough in 1998 was partially associated with the jazzy, champagne-fuelled ‘Charleston’ hedonism of elite 1930’s New York or London and with the urbane intemperance of contemporary wine production/consumption, while at other instances the nostalgic reference was an idyllic Golden Past of pre-world war New Zealand rural communities.

Generic historical referencing was also reflected in some of the architectural styles admired by tourists and legislated for by local government. For example, in 1994 the South Wairarapa District Council adopted building codes that sought to “protect and conserve buildings, structures or sites of heritage and/or visual appeal and to **retain the prominence of major historical elements in the district**” (South Wairarapa District 1994: appendices XVII – emphasis mine). The codes were also designed to “recognise tourism as an important economic factor and to promote the district as **a destination of historic interest and aesthetic appeal**” (South Wairarapa District 1994: appendices XVII – emphasis mine).

The Council thus determined that all buildings, including proposed constructions, in the town centres of Martinborough, Greytown and Featherston should conform to certain “essential” architectural elements “**to ensure the historic character** of the town centre is required [sic]” (South Wairarapa District 1994: appendices XIX – emphasis mine). Such elements included high pitch, gable or hip form roofs together with finial cornice mouldings, decorative barge boards, small centred windows and parapet walls, bullnosed, sloping or concave verandahs together with posts adorned with decorative details (i.e. mouldings, gussets, turned posts and fretwork) at both ground and roof junctions, and “traditional windows and doors [that] are small timber framed elements that are carefully situated to enhance the symmetry of a building” (South Wairarapa District 1994: appendices XX). If builders used aluminium joinery they had to ensure “this can be enhanced by use of traditional colours, finishes and timber surrounds”(South Wairarapa District 1994: appendices XVII) and they should avoid using “security grill and mesh; roller doors, untraditional doors (sliding, glazed); large expanses of glass (glazing bars can be used to reduce this expanse)” (South Wairarapa District 1994: appendices XVII).

As the Council’s regulations also applied to newly constructed buildings with the stated aim of reproducing “major historical elements in the district” (South Wairarapa District 1994: appendices XVII), their intent was clearly not one of historical authenticity but rather appealed to an idealised, generic history aesthetic. Accordingly the code states the intention is “not to require exact replicas of historic buildings and past architectural styles” (South Wairarapa District 1994: appendices XVIII). The regulations, however, clearly arrest or coagulate the aesthetics of the town centres within an imagined moment of history. Although not explicitly stated the emphasis appears to be on an idealised version of a late 19th century townscape, at least at the level of façade.

The regulations, in privileging only a limited set of late 1800’s and early 1900’s building designs, thus also deny the evolution of various building styles and forms over time. For example, one of the criteria stressed is that “most buildings in the town centre are quite narrow and tall, resulting from the narrow subdivision of land along the main commercial streets. Larger buildings should attempt to recreate the tall narrow scale of original buildings through the treatment of the façade and/or roof” (South Wairarapa

District 1994: appendices XX). A cursory review of early photos of Martinborough reveals, however, that only a few buildings constructed during this era conformed to this ideal configuration. This was largely due to Martinborough's initial slow rate of development.

The Martinborough and Club Hotels were clearly large, wide two-storey structures, retail premises such as Pain's and Ramsden & Ussher's general stores and the Post Office were also comparatively wide, single-level buildings and properties such as Wright's Hairdressing Tobacconist & Fancy Goods Depot (circa 1905) had flat, rather than high-pitched, roofs (McIntyre 2002; Martinborough Centennial Committee 1982; Martinborough Museum Collection). Indeed a 1906 photograph of Hardie & Son's watchmaker and jeweller shop (McIntyre 2002: 178), situated in the Oddfellows' Hall that was built in 1902 clearly shows a built-in roof structure (i.e. an minor storey added into the roof) that the Council's contemporary regulations regard as "*unsympathetic*" (South Wairarapa District 1994: appendices XXIV). In fact the Martinborough Hotel was not originally built with a verandah, bullnosed or otherwise (McIntyre 2002: 191). In the early stages of the township's development most of the buildings were thus stand-alone, comparatively wide structures and the narrow subdivision of land referred to in the code occurred incrementally in the 20th century due to fill-in development.

Fig.17. The Station Hotel (left) being manoeuvred into position opposite the Martinborough Hotel and in front of a celebratory crowd.

The idealised historical and metro-rural aesthetics applied to Martinborough are not uncommon in tourist destinations. For example, Arrowtown, near Queenstown in the South Island, is promoted as a “living historic town” (www.arrowtown.com, November 2007) and as “a popular holiday destination all year round” (www.arrowtown.com, November 2007) in which a leisurely browse through the “main street's shops will delight, with a wide range of high quality New Zealand made merchandise” (www.arrowtown.com, November 2007). However, “the new mock-Colonial of much of Arrowtown probably dupes most tourists, but diminishes the real old buildings... Sadly, pasting local schist veneer onto a building does not authenticate it” (Mitchell 2005: 138).

The lack of historical specificity evident in the Council regulations’ and in most tourism promotions’ (see Chapter 3/ below) reflects an ambiguity of positioning that could, in part, be due to the lack of a historically remarkable epoch in Martinborough’s genealogy. Nevertheless such discourses also enable a generalised set of historically corroborated ideals, including visual aesthetics and the vernacular rural idyll, to be symbolically attached to contemporary phenomenon such as the tourists’ metro-rural expectations of urbane comfort. For example, the relocation of the historic Station Hotel⁸⁶ (circa 1903) in 1998 from Masterton nearly 30kms away to a site opposite the Martinborough Hotel (see Fig.19.), also included renovations such as modern sash windows, re-wiring and Internet connections. This relocation and transformation enhanced both the idealised, Council-sanctioned historical aesthetics and also ensured that contemporary retailers and consumers were accommodated in urbane, commercially efficient surrounds.

⁸⁶ The relocation of the Station Hotel, also known as the “Coronation Coffee Palace’ (complete) with a bridal chamber, rooms for married couples, private boarding rooms and a social room for ladies” (The Dominion, November 5, 1998: 15), was the initiative of the owners of the Martinborough Hotel, most notably Mike and Sally Laven, together with other prominent residents. The move was celebrated by several hundred people who gathered in the Martinborough Town Square and the Martinborough Hotel to await its arrival. The relocation was not, however, without controversy. The chairman of the Wairarapa branch of the Historic Places Trust, Garry Daniell, expressed regret that the historic building was being moved from its original site in Masterton (The Dominion, 1998, November 5: 15) and as a result in 1999 the Masterton District Council amended its district plan to make the removal, demolition or modification of selected historic buildings subject to council notification and approval (Wairarapa Times–Age, 1999, February 2: 1, 6).

Imprecise or ambiguous historical positioning creates opportunities for individuals to construct and value multiple moments in time. The historical is thus cast as romanticised sentiments that predominantly signify the endurance and preservation of various phenomena, including buildings and socio-economic systems, which are therefore perceived of as innately authentic and socially worthwhile (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992). Moreover it was also apparent that these narratives were deployed to provide a moral foundation of the enduring righteousness and integrity of various metro-rural idyllic notions. Multiple, ambiguous historical positioning creates a social space whereby generalised sentiments and ideals can be plucked from a variety of chronological (including contemporary) contexts and woven together into an nexus of romanticised rurality, nebulous Golden Age(s) and modern cosmopolitanism that mutually validate and affirm each other. The urbane dispositions of tourists are embedded in the heart of a historically validating and thoroughly sacrosanct rural idyll. At the same time these selective historic and rural ideals, at least at the level of aesthetic, sentiment and façade, are upgraded to compliment and satisfy contemporary middle class predilections.

Indeed the tourists' desire to stay in romantic, historical lodgings was so dominant that staff at the Tourism Information Centre characterised the typical accommodation requests as being for "colonial cottages with open fires and baths big enough for two" (Howland 2004: 103). The tourists' desire idealises the domestic residences of European settlers' in New Zealand dating from the mid to late 1800's. Characteristically constructed with overlapping weatherboard exteriors, such cottages were based on a fairly standard rectangular or box-like, one to four-room design and housed settler families that often included both parents and several dependent children. Interior linings were tongued-in-grooved timber to keep out draughts, with wooden floors, low ceilings and gabled or box roofs that were mostly shingled until 1869, after which corrugated iron roofs became more commonplace. In 1858 an estimated 80% of the 12,812 settler residences in New Zealand followed this pattern, with nearly half having only one or two rooms, often with combined living and sleeping quarters, lean-to kitchens and outside washing/toilet facilities. A quarter were 'pretentious' three or four room cottages consisting of separate kitchen, living and bedrooms (Salmon 1989). The settlers' houses were graded according to size (cottage – superior cottage – houses) and degree of embellishment (e.g. verandahs, bay windows, glass panes etc). The

smallest, most basic structures were the domain of “the common labourer...the fifth size for the opulent farmer” (J Gwilt in *The Encyclopaedia of Architecture* (1881) – quoted in Salmond 1989: 61).



Fig.18. Coalman's Cottage homestay, described on its website as “beautifully restored” (www.coalmans.co.nz)

The tourists' desire for such accommodation, ideally immaculately restored and boasting a luxurious decor and array of contemporary technologies (e.g. automated dishwashers; broadband Internet connection), was reflected in the promotional advertising of the French St Villas – Loire and Avignon – which after being moved from Wanganui and their renovation in Martinborough aimed to fit this brief:

“Both Villas, Avignon and Loire, have been fully renovated retaining their original character while introducing modern comforts such as gas fires in the open plan living areas, modern fully equipped kitchens and two bathrooms (one ensuite)” (www.martinborough.com/french-st, May 2005).

Tourists' also desired cottages for their perceived snugness or “*cosy atmosphere*” (Female, mid 30's, Wellington resident). Being pastorally situated and perceived of as small with physically intimate interiors in comparison to many modern, domestic residences, some tourists regarded Martinborough's homestay cottages as “*romantic boltholes*” (Female, mid 30's, Wellington resident). Thirty-one of 87 homestays listed on GoWairarapa website (November 2005) have the term cottage in their title (e.g. Tui Cottage, Martinborough Cottage, Honeysuckle Cottage, Strasbourg Cottage, Coalman's

Cottage - see Fig.19.). The preponderance of self-contained homestays that asserted a cottage-status points to their touristic popularity. The actual buildings, however, historically ranged from a few 1800's one-two bedroom, former-labourers' cottages through to significantly renovated, much enlarged cottages (i.e. three-four bedrooms, internal kitchens etc) and to the originally larger (three-four bedroom), early-mid 1900 villas and bungalows.

On many vineyards, and on town sections in Martinborough, there was a marked tendency to use relocated Victorian villas as domestic residences. Especially popular in emerging towns throughout New Zealand from the late 1800's to the early 1900's, villas were much larger than cottages and often included separate bedrooms, kitchen, parlours, wash house, bathrooms, toilets, scullery and pantry (Salmon 1989). Many of Martinborough's villas were harvested from other rural towns in the North Island of New Zealand that are currently experiencing marked social and economic depression (e.g. Eketahuna, Wanganui, Dannervirke and Pahiatua). Villa owners often talked of their 'love' of their property's '*original features*', including large wooden sash windows, wooden floors, high internal ceilings and dazzling array of mouldings which appeared to ornament every conceivable exterior and interior joints (e.g. architraves, skirting boards, scotia or corniced ceilings etc - see Salmond 1989).

Most often, however, the villas were not 'original' but rather had been immaculately renovated and upgraded to meet the demands of Martinborough's middle-class vineyard owners and tourists. Structural upgrades included the use of modern, draught-proof wooden sash windows, new electrical wiring and connections such as hi-tech television/ computer portals, modern plumbing (including provision of en-suites) and water-delivery systems, built-in wardrobes and re-piling. Many villas were also equipped with hi-tech television, stereo, telephone and computer systems, and with high quality furnishings, ornaments and artworks. Often the original features of the villas had been renovated to exacting, quite idealised standards especially in terms of pristine paintwork and other presentation features. Many owners had also built large verandahs to run along the front and sides of their villas, although originally such villas tended to have much smaller verandahs situated at the front. Owners also often noted their villa's versatility in meeting the demands of their family life, entertaining and accommodating weekend guests, and for some, working from home:

'I love the large rooms and all the space...the kids can happily play in the front lounge while we entertain in the back... in fact we often eat on the verandah, especially during summer. It's just so lovely looking over the vineyard and enjoying a relaxing meal with our family and friends... We were so lucky to find this place, it's just perfect for our lifestyle' (Martinborough vineyard owner, female, mid 40's).

These examples of desirable Martinborough accommodation, the colonial cottage plucked from the mid 1800's and the villa from the early 1900's, highlight notions of historical embedment and validation in addition to idealised metro-rurality. Firstly, an informed appreciation of the perceived historical aesthetics of the villas, especially in terms of appropriate ornamentation, paint colours, and maintaining the integrity of various structural components (e.g. wooden sash windows, corrugated iron roofs, wood floors), in combination with the possession of the financial capital required to achieve this idealised style or '*look*', was a social demonstration of valued middle class cultural and economic capitals. An individual did not necessarily have to personally possess the requisite cultural capital, however, and could deploy another middle class disposition by employing a suitably qualified specialist, such as an interior designer or style consultant.

The cosmopolitan urbanity of villa owners was also demonstrated through them ensuring that their residences possessed modern functionalities such as Internet connections and heated towel rails, and was also furnished with high-quality furniture integrated with contemporary country-house or villa styles. Thus classical leather couches, antique dressers, Rimu dining tables and stained glass feature windows were much favoured by villa owners and tourists. This capacity to successfully meld and appreciate both the country-house '*look*' with contemporary styles, for example having a faux, ornamental butter churn nearby an avant-garde painting and hi-tech stereo sound system, also denoted middle class cultural capitals and a metro-rural disposition.

The sentimentalised colonial cottages and country villas also facilitated much-desired opportunities for performative displays of ideal reflexive individualism. Firstly, for many tourists they provided a conspicuous and corroborating setting for their practices of romantic intimacy, while both tourists and villas owners often used their residences

to entertain friends and facilitate leisured reflexive sociality. Also many resident villa owners used their residences to accommodate both their domestic and employment lives. For example, one villa owned by a vineyard couple had an office from which the wife conducted her consultancy business, while another had a large cellar underneath that accommodated the vineyard's wine library and cellar.⁸⁷ In this respect the upgraded and pristine Martinborough residential villa enabled their middle class owners to variously work from home, enjoy the urbane company of friends and to raise families, all of which conform with the entangled ideals of the rural idyll, metro-rurality, reflexive individualism and middle class distinction.

Another example of the historical/ rural idyll validation of the metro-rural ethos is the iconic Martinborough Hotel (circa 1883 – see Fig.19.), images of which routinely feature in the town's tourist promotions and signify the urbane sophistication of Martinborough.



Fig.19. The iconic Martinborough Hotel (www.peppers.co.nz, Martinborough, December 2006).

Mike and Sally Laven were the driving force behind the hotel's renovation in 1996. They are widely celebrated for restoring the Martinborough Hotel to its apparent former

⁸⁷ A wine library is typically a vertical or chronological collection of a vineyard's wines that are kept uncorked as a permanent record of the vintages produced over time. A cellar is also a chronological collection of a vineyard's vintages, however, the wines are opened and consumed periodically to assess their maturation in the bottle.

grandeur and for its contemporary use as an elegant, boutique hostelry (The Dominion Post, May 10, 2005: A11; Wairarapa Times-Age, July 17, 1995):

“one of the finest hostelries ever erected ...”

Martinborough is a quirky little village, with a majestic square at its heart... Taking pride of place at the entrance to the square is *Peppers* Martinborough Hotel. Developer Edmund Buckeridge described it in 1882 as “one of the finest hostelries ever erected in any inland town in New Zealand.” A way station for prosperous travellers to and from the South Wairarapa’s huge, isolated sheep stations, its grand façade has been a focal point for the town right from the early days...

But the hotel hasn’t forgotten its past, and it’s that sense of history and place that will charm you as soon as you step in the front door – from the battered suitcase of a gentleman traveller at the top of stairs, to the sloping floors and olden day sketches of local personalities adorning the walls. **Today Peppers Martinborough Hotel offers character, comfort and old style personal attention combined”** (www.martinborough-hotel.co.nz/history.html, February, 2005 – emphasis mine).

Resplendent with highly polished Totara floorboards, a wide array of rural pioneer paraphernalia on the walls (e.g. horse bridles, copper pots etc) and dozens of historic Martinborough photographs, the hotel’s promotions and staging seek to construct a direct link with its’ history and the charm of the rural idyll, most notably the sociability, comfort and ‘old fashioned’ personalised service. Many tourists commented on how the Martinborough Hotel set a high standard of elegance or refinement with respect to its dining and accommodation facilities, yet had not forgotten its ‘*roots*’ in the history of Martinborough as evidenced by the accommodation rooms that were named after prominent individuals from the region’s past (see below). Tourists said that recognition of the hotel’s and township’s shared past – as directly referenced in the short biographical and historical narratives that featured on placards situated in the accommodation rooms – provided a ‘*real sense of history*’ and some said it made them think about the historical role of the hotel in providing a veritable oasis of suave urbanity to the ‘*community of Martinborough.*’

Most tourists were, however, unaware that in terms of urbane splendour the Martinborough Hotel was historically rivalled, quite possibly surpassed by the Club Hotel (circa 1891), which until the 1970's had been on the opposite corner of the town square (now occupied by the often vilified Pukemanu Hotel – see below). They also appeared oblivious to the fact that many of the historical photographs and paraphernalia featured in the Martinborough Hotel depicted the hard manual labour of farming, breaking-in land and transporting goods in 19th century South Wairarapa and were thus socially distanced from the cosmopolitan leisure and consumption that tourists desired in their Martinborough Hotel experience. In many respects the tourists' fondness for such historical depictions and representations fetishised the work and hardships of Martinborough's historical farmers and settlers as nostalgic spectacle, again denoting the tourist's distance from necessity and their middle class status.

In addition, the Martinborough Hotel's promotional deployment of history was selective and idealised. There is little doubt that as proclaimed the Martinborough Hotel offers some of the finest contemporary accommodation and dining experiences in the region. There are, however, aspects of the hotel's past that have been overlooked or obscured in its promotion. From the township's earliest days in late the 1800's through to the early 1900's Martinborough was a "transit sort of place" (Pirinoa resident Mita Carter – quoted in McIntyre 2002: 174) and all sorts of individuals, from shearers, scrub-cutters, shepherds, salesmen, itinerants, remittance men⁸⁸ and others working on coastal stations such as farmers collecting supplies would stay overnight in Martinborough after conducting their business. "Consequently, transport and accommodation were key industries in the town" (McIntyre 2002: 174) and by 1906 visitors could choose to stay at two boarding houses or at the Martinborough and Club Hotels. As with many gatherings of men at that time they were typically fuelled by alcohol and masculine egos (Phillips 1996) and both hotels regularly witnessed fistfights and other disputes between patrons. Indeed the Martinborough Hotel had a local reputation of being a '*rough place*' well into the late 1980's, both for behaviour of its customers and the decrepit state of the building, which the current owners said was in a very '*poor state*' when they purchased the hotel in 1995.

⁸⁸ Remittance men were characteristically Englishmen, exiled to the colonies by their often wealthy families and from whom they received only nominal support. Consequently many remittance men lived the life of itinerants.

Robert Smith, who was born in 1912 on the Waihinga Station just east of Martinborough and whose maternal grandmother was the original owner of the Martinborough Hotel, recalled that arguments at the hostelry were often settled with fistfights and that on Christmas Eve one would be disappointed not to see four or five fights in the town square: “It was very entertaining...especially if a couple of drunks were involved” (Smith – Martinborough Oral History 1982; OH A6 29/ T123). Combatants were either placed overnight in the “cooler” by police or “run out of town” (Smith – Martinborough Oral History 1982; OH A6 29/ T123). Smith also mentioned how many of the scrub-cutters working in the district were “straight out of prison” (Smith – Martinborough Oral History 1982; OH A6 29/ T123) and how many of the remittance men knew how to “scientifically box”, indeed he was taught how to box by such “dandies” (Smith – Martinborough Oral History 1982; OH A6 29/ T123). Such recollections put a different spin on the battered suitcase of a gentleman traveller noted in the Martinborough Hotel’s web-based promotions.

A recent newspaper article did, however, mention Martinborough Hotel’s violent past with the current owners’ revealing that when they initially approached their bank manager to finance the purchase of the hotel “she mentioned that the last time she visited the pub she’d been beaten up” (The Dominion Post, May 10, 2005: A11). The point of this narrative was not, however, to dwell on the hotel’s colourful past but rather to triumph the hotel’s “return to its 19th century glory” (The Dominion Post, May 10, 2005: A11), which was significantly enhanced by extensive improvements that included enlarging the bedrooms and adding en-suite bathrooms and elegant restaurant dining rooms. The highly selective, historical framing of the Martinborough Hotel thus seeks to articulate the notion that the urbane refinement it now offers is firmly embedded within, and thus premised on, the moral integrity of the hotel’s past, which likewise is perceived by tourists to be grounded in the innate enduringness of sociability and hospitality of Martinborough’s rural idyll.

The idealistic and historical staging of the Martinborough Hotel also emphasised and celebrated notions of reflexive individuality which tourists conspicuously experienced whenever they personally made a selection from the hotel’s wine list or choose to spend a romantic night. This reflexive ethos was also in the naming of the accommodation

rooms in the Martinborough Hotel after individuals regarded as influential in the districts' historical development. For example, the rooms named Barton (Richard), Bidwill (Charles), Cameron (Hugh and John), Pharazyn (Charles), Vavasour (William) and Weld (Frederick) celebrate some of the first Europeans to explore and establish sheep farms in the Wairarapa during the period from 1843 to 1847 (Bagnall 1976; McIntyre 2002). Other rooms named Martin (John), after the founder of Martinborough; Chifney (Stan), who was one of the area's original wine makers; Beetham (William) junior who is now celebrated as the first (1882) to grow wine grapes in the Wairarapa on his sheep run (later named Brancepeth) near Masterton (Cooper 2002; McIntyre 2002); and Kershaw (John), who in 1898 joined the general supplies partnership of George Pain to establish Pain & Kershaw's, an iconic local store that is still owned and operated by his descendents. In naming the rooms after individuals considered prominent in the development of Martinborough as rural township and in the successful establishment of agricultural and wine industries in the area, a significant link is drawn between the elite status of such pioneers and the regard held for contemporary tourists staying at the Martinborough Hotel. This also invokes notions of historical continuity or enduringness, and thus can be deployed to affirm and validate the middle class distinction of tourists who are accommodated in these rooms. Furthermore, it similarly historically embeds and celebrates those enterprises, specifically wine, agricultural, and retail that are considered to be important to Martinborough as contemporary wine village and metro-rural destination.

Two of the rooms were named in a manner that directly affirms and celebrates the biographical individuality of the proprietors, Mike and Sally Laven. Thus the Wilton room is named after ancestors of Sally Laven who farmed in the Wairarapa in the early 1900's, and Shek O is named after one of the last fishing villages left on Hong Kong where Mike and Sally lived before returning to New Zealand in 1989. The remaining two rooms, (Cape) Palliser and the Wharekaka (Plains), are named after local places of interest (www.martinborough-hotel.co.nz, September 2004). The entirety of Martinborough Hotel room names, from pioneer elites to place specifics and the reflexive biography of the hotel's owners, thus reaffirms and reproduces the tourists' desire for social distinction and ideal reflexive individualism.

Martinborough's gentrification ethos was not simply confined to the historical staging and commodification of tourist accommodation and dwellings on vineyards, but has also influenced many of the township's domestic and retail residences which have been renovated to 'impeccable' standards:

'I think it's great. The whole place has tidied up its act. The weekenders have bought up a lot of old properties and renovated them, and the town centre is looking really smart. In fact many locals have got the bug and tidied up their properties...even the Town Hall was given a long over due spruce up' (Long-time Martinborough resident/ retailer, male, mid-50's).

Much of the 'tidying up' was influenced by the financial imperatives resulting from the Martinborough's emergence as a popular tourism destination (i.e. rise in house prices and accordant desires to maximise capital returns). It was also partly due to the hegemonic influence of the "Diderot effect" (McCracken 1990: 118), which essentially compelled individuals to alter their surrounds and consumption patterns to reflect the dominant ethos. However, gentrification also resulted from the calculated intervention of influential locals. For example, members of the Martinborough Community Board regularly reported, both formally and informally, on properties they considered to be unkempt (e.g. Martinborough Community Board, December 4, 2000: 60). In some cases individual Board members approached property owners on an unofficial or casual basis to express their concerns and request that they clean up their properties – sometimes offering to help with labour, use of trailers and other equipment (pers. comm.).

If a property owner was uncooperative, or where a particularly shabby property was thought to pose a health or safety risk, the matter was passed on the South Wairarapa District Council's Environmental Health Officer for investigation. One of the most recent places to experience the Council's 'gentrification agenda' was the council-operated Martinborough Campground. In 2005 six permanent residents at the camping ground were given notice to quit with Mike Beckett, councillor for the Martinborough ward, reported as saying:

"The reality is we are a tourist town and we want them to come and stay. If they come in their big campervans, we want up-to-scratch facilities to offer them so they stick around. People who hire these campervans are more often

than not well-heeled and very desirable tourists. We want to have them here” (The Dominion Post, May 14, 2005: A4).

According to the councillor the camping ground site was in a poor state and only attracted large numbers of visitors when the Toast Martinborough Festival and Martinborough Fairs were held. The site has also been criticised for inadequate facilities with only two toilets for up to 100 people, poor lighting and no power points for campervans.

Cosmopolitan Martinborough

Although many tourists spoke favourably about the artisan, folksy type production ethos of many local producers (e.g. the hand-made/painted Whirligig birds from Moazark – see Chapter 6), there was also an anticipation that the urbane refinement characteristically linked with wine, Martinborough’s flagship product, would be reflected in the quality of other products and services on offer. Indeed the mixture of historic architecture, modern technology and urbane refinement of product and service was also generally expected of businesses such as restaurants, caf  s and delicatessens. This expectation was again most obvious when tourists were confronted by its absence or contradiction. For example, one of the premises frequently regarded by tourists as incongruent with the desired urbane, cosmopolitan ethos was the Pukemanu Tavern (see Fig.20.), which is situated on the south-eastern corner of the Memorial Square opposite the highly-lauded Martinborough Hotel. Built in the 1977 by New Zealand Breweries (now Lion Breweries) to replace the Club Hotel, the Pukemanu Tavern is a single-level, concrete block structure that houses a public bar, restaurant, retail alcohol store, gaming machines and a TAB (Totalisator Agency Board) outlet.



Fig.20. The often maligned (by tourists) Pukemanu Tavern.

One tourist, unaware of the historical incarnation of the Club Hotel, described the Pukemanu Tavern as:

'Harking back to old Martinborough full of cow cockies and shearers all swilling beer and playing pool...I suppose it has its place in the district, but it is really out of step with the development of the town as a wine village and tourist destination. It's a real shame they didn't move the Pukemanu out and replace it with the Station Hotel' (Male, Wellington resident, mid 40's).

During Martinborough's transformation into a wine village, the Pukemanu Tavern was an iconic rallying point for many of the township's long-time residents concerned about developments and keen to retain their *'local way of life'*. As one elderly resident told me:

'The Pukemanu is one of the few places left that we can get together and be a community again. I go there with a few friends at the end of the week for lunch and a few laughs. It's about the only place town where you can get a decent meal at a reasonable price...we can't afford to eat at the Martinborough Hotel or those other places, except on special occasions. If the Pukemanu wasn't there we would have no where to go... it helps us keep in touch with one another so we can keep an eye out for each other' (Female, late 60's–early 70's, lived in Martinborough for 55 years).

The former owners of the Pukemanu Tavern, Laurie and Sue Berger, were widely acknowledged for their financial support of the Senior Ladies Brigade discussed above (Wairarapa Midweek, March 31, 1998: 8) and were also often publicly vocal (Wairarapa Times–Age, January 18, 2001) in their opposition to what one Martinborough resident described as *‘two– day locals...who buy up all the properties in Martinborough, forcing up prices and rates and driving out the locals... then they buy a four–wheel drive to get over the (Rimutaka) hill in weekends and tell us how to run the town’* (male, late 50’s).

Some individuals believed that the opposition between the Martinborough *‘locals’* (i.e. long–time or permanent residents) and the contemporary tourists, holiday–home owners and other *‘new–comers’* (i.e. vineyard owners etc) was essentially class–based, or between the “haves and have nots” (Constable Peter Banks quoted in Wairarapa Times–Age, November 14, 1998: 4 – see also McIntyre 2002). Many residents were also aware that the divisions were physically marked on the townscape of Martinborough:

‘All the new development is along the main road from Wellington and on the vineyard side of town...the townies literally drive into Martinborough, drive around the square, visit the vineyards and then leave. I doubt many of them even know what’s on the other side of town’ (Martinborough resident, male, late 50’s).

Most conversions of older domestic properties into upmarket tourist accommodation and the construction of new buildings near vineyards are in fact on the northern side of Martinborough. I clearly recall when delivering household questionnaires being intrigued to find a domestic property to the south–east side of the Memorial Square bordered by an electric wire fence, containing a single garage and several grazing sheep. The owner told me he had configured his property in this manner to stop his sheep from being *‘taken and slaughtered’* by some of more irascible locals. In this respect, the Pukemanu Tavern situated on the eastern-south corner of the Memorial Square emblematically marked the physical and social boundary between the *‘old’* and *‘new’* Martinborough.

In 2000 this divide was also highlighted when the South Wairarapa District Council proposed an “upgrade” (South Wairarapa District 2000: n.p) of the Memorial Square in the town centre to “enhance its character” and improve traffic flows (South Wairarapa District 2000: n.p). The plan for Memorial Square, drawn up by the Wellington-based Isthmus Group Architects, emphasised a “refined rustic theme” (South Wairarapa District 2000: n.p) and involved removing “odd trees” (South Wairarapa District 2000: n.p) such as gums and planting more oaks; constructing a petanque court; removing the surrounding footpath; and extending the grass area to make the “green, more green” (South Wairarapa District 2000: n.p). The development plan aimed to accentuate “even more strongly the English or European identity in the middle of the town.” (McIntyre 2002: 297). The proposed development also sought to remove car parks from around the square, widen the opposite footpaths and reduce the width of the road to encourage more pedestrian use of the area.

Several public meetings were held to discuss the proposal, with Laurie Berger, patrons from the Pukemanu Tavern and the owners of other retail businesses, such as Kristy Taylor of Huntaways Brassiere, arguing that their side of the square (east–south) was being neglected in favour of the Martinborough Hotel side. They also suggested that the proposed tree plantings were an attempt to “hide the Pukemanu” (Laurie Berger quoted in the Wairarapa Times–Age, January 18, 2001: 1) from view and that the development essentially favoured out–of-town visitors: “None of the local people are going to benefit...its enhancing one or two businesses in town, that’s about it” (Laurie Berger – quoted in the Wairarapa Times–Age, January 18, 2001: 1).

Others such as Clive Paton, owner of Ata Rangi and a Martinborough Community Board member (2000– 2001), supported the proposed changes:

“My biggest beef is traffic coming through. There will hopefully be a general slowing down of that and a move to actually create the square for people rather than traffic... just make it more hospitable for the walking public and give it a more European feel rather than just having cars and trucks roaring through town. The old town doesn’t really see that, they’re so used to roaring through town and not having anybody around” (McIntyre 2002: 296– 297).

After the first public meeting, the council received more than 100 submissions, most opposing the proposed changes and accordingly the proposal was sent back to Isthmus Group Architects for review. Additional public meetings were held, attracting between 150–200 participants each time, and some 18 months later opinion on the proposed \$700,000 redevelopment remained intensely divided:

“Resentment towards invading Wellingtonians resurfaced...Class divisions were apparent, not only between those who enjoyed a beer at Pukemanu Tavern and those who consumed quality wines at Martinborough Hotel, but also between permanent Martinborough residents [excluding many of the middleclass newcomers] and Wellington weekenders and visitors” (McIntyre 2002: 298).

Opponents even clashed over the colour that the iron poles for the street lights should be painted, with those who wished to maintain Martinborough’s links with a ‘colonial past’ favouring black and those who desired a more European wine village feel favouring white. Ironically a compromise on a burgundy colour, named Pinot Noir, was eventually reached.

In 2002 a small working party was established by the Martinborough Community Board to design and implement tree-planting in the town centre. In March 2003 the South Wairarapa District Council tore up traffic islands and temporarily marked out with concrete blocks the proposed changes to widen the footpaths and narrow the road “to give it and residents time to see if the change was workable” (Wairarapa Times–Age, March 5, 2003: 1). This action was met with renewed opposition and locals collected a 600 strong petition opposing the anticipated redevelopment, which the Council then abandoned. Later that year the Council established a new redevelopment group and started the consultation process again, although by the end of 2006 the only action taken had included removing a few sickly trees and car parking directly around the square.

Interestingly though many of the locals who contested the redevelopment of the Memorial Square also told me how ‘*out of place*’ the ‘*new*’ Post Office building situated on the northern side of the square was in comparison to the historic character of the town centre (as exemplified by the refurbished Martinborough Hotel). Built in the 1975, just two years before and in style with the Pukemanu Tavern, the Post Office

building is a single-storey, concrete-block structure with several high-pitched triangular roofs and was one of the first in New Zealand to be purposely designed off-site and then constructed in-situ according to plan. As one long-time Martinborough resident told me:

'The new Post Office is a bloody eye-sore. The Government didn't take the character of the town into consideration. They just designed the thing in Wellington and simply plonked it down here' (Male, late 60's).

However, when the Club Hotel was demolished in the mid 1970's to make way for the Pukemanu Tavern, a trust formed by notable locals Alistair Taylor, a renowned publisher, David Kershaw, the owner of Pain & Kershaw's and now a shareholder of Palliser Estate, and others to save and restore the building was unable to attract any significant local support.⁸⁹ By way of contrast only a couple of tourists I met commented on the incompatibility of the 'new' Post Office building, possibly because as it had been transformed into a boutique beer brewery and latter into an upmarket café, and had during this process been subjected to a refined, rustic makeover that included the introduction of exposed, rough-hewn wooden beams inside and the placement of iconic corrugated iron over the exterior concrete block walls.

This seeming contradiction in terms of values that is evident in individuals who celebrate the Pukemanu Tavern as 'local', vilify the similarly constructed 'new' Post Office as historically inappropriate and who have displayed apathy toward preserving original buildings may be explained by shifts in popular sentiments over time. It also indicates that many of Martinborough's long-time residents were not simply seeking to preserve the architectural qualities of the town centre. The battle lines were drawn over the social value accorded to ways of life that were perceived to be fundamentally different. On one side was the 'old' or 'true' rurality of Martinborough, as exemplified by the local, beer-drinking and community-orientated patrons of the Pukemanu Tavern. Opposing this was the 'new' or urban-based metro-rurality of Martinborough as exemplified by the tourist wine drinkers of the Martinborough Hotel.

⁸⁹ Alister Taylor was, however, successful in saving the old Post Office building (now the French Bistro restaurant) from demolition when he purchased it after the Council had declined the Crown Lands' offer to buy the building for \$9,500 (Martinborough Centennial Committee 1992).

Euro-chic Martinborough

Although the ‘locals’ appear to have temporarily won the battle over the further transformation of Martinborough into an Europeanised wine village, their influence is clearly limited to public spaces such as the Town Square as the number of urbane development of commercial enterprises and privately constructed/relocated residences continues unabated.⁹⁰

Many tourists told me how Martinborough’s vineyards reminded them of wine-producing areas they had visited in Europe, especially in France. Some actively sought to recreate their O.E. (overseas experience) in Europe by reuniting with travelling companions and one group had undertaken several, annual pilgrimages to Martinborough for this specific purpose:

‘It is great to meet up once a year and reminisce about our trip around Europe – and what better place than Martinborough... it just like being back touring around the vineyards in France and Italy’ (Female tourist, mid-30’s, Wellington resident).

In the marketing promotions discussed previously there are also references to various European, sometimes specifically French, Italian, Belgian or German styled phenomena that can be experienced on a Martinborough holiday. For example, the Au Spa Belge woman’s day spa in Strasbourg Street and the unisex Turret House Salon in Oxford Street, which offered individuals the opportunity to “enjoy the luxurious experience... [of] the ultimate pampering... [in the] French Style” (Wairarapa Times–Age January, 2005: 18). In addition, many of Martinborough’s homestays and bed-and-breakfast are named after European places. For example, Burgundy Cottage, Avignon Villa, Loire Villa, The Venice Affair, Villino Amore, Villino Lavanada, and Villino Olivio (www.wairarapanz.com, June 2005). Indeed much of Martinborough’s wine culture is

⁹⁰ The European influence on Martinborough is not, however, a recent phenomenon. Nor has it been simply an ephemeral or stylistic effect, but can have significant social and economic consequences. As previously noted John Martin designed the original Martinborough subdivision in the pattern of the Union Jack, thereby physically signifying his allegiance to, and the imperial power of, the British Empire in 19th century New Zealand. In addition, as a predominantly rural service centre, the economic and social vitality of Martinborough and surrounding district has often been heavily reliant on the vicissitudes of overseas markets and especially on exports of bulk primary products to the United Kingdom until it joined the European Economic Community in 1973.

premised on, or seeks an ideational convergence with, a highly generalised and idealised European cosmopolitanism.

Such constructions draw upon transnational flows and narratives of cosmopolitanism or urbanity (Appadurai 1991; Clifford 1997; Friedman 1994 & 2002; Jacobsen 2003; Szerszynski & Urry 2002) that encompass an ever-increasing, eclectic assortment of widely legitimated stylistic traits associated with a generalised notion of middle class affluence and social distinction. The performative consumption of transnational cosmopolitanism often references an idealised Euro-culture of refinement that includes an appreciation of fine wines, gourmet foods, neo-modernist architecture, domestic appliances, clothing, and cars. Similarly amongst Martinborough's tourists the pervasive Euro-lifestyle model focused on a set of selective, romanticised phenomena such as the appreciative and leisured consumption of refined, neo-modernist architecture and furnishings, fine wine and dining experiences, and to a lesser extent on chic clothing and fashionable accessories.

Transnational cosmopolitanism is closely linked with the tourist bubble (Jacobsen 2003) that typically cocoons many tourists, who despite being engaged by a liberal curiosity of other cultures, nevertheless still expect a default base of middle class comfort that includes high-quality hotels and air-conditioning when travelling. The dissemination of transnational cosmopolitanism is predominantly communicated via various magazines and newspaper articles that extol the individualistic and social virtues of an urbane lifestyle. For example, New Zealand magazines such as *Cuisine*, *NZ House and Garden*, *Home and Garden*, *Travel and Leisure*, and *Architecture New Zealand* regularly feature articles on luxurious homes and travel accommodation (national and international), gourmet recipes, top restaurants and design trends in architecture, appliances etc. Similar magazines are produced in other first-world societies such as USA (*Bon Appetit*, *Gourmet*, *City*, *Luxury Homes*, *Style*, *Town and Country*) and in Australia (*delicious*, *Donna Hay*, *Gourmet traveller*, *Architecture Australia*, *Monument*). Some, such as *Vogue* and *Vogue Entertaining and Travel*, have achieved iconic status as international brokers of fashion and are also transnational in that they produce vernacular publications in a variety of countries (e.g. Australia, Great Britain and France), centred around a core publication emanating from a home-base in the USA. Moreover magazines such as *Vogue*, *Cuisine* and *Home and Garden* are

typically provisioned reading fare in Martinborough's homestays, hotels and other tourist accommodation. The mediascape of cosmopolitanism or refinement is also conveyed through other media flows such as French and European movies and the transnational advertising for middle class products such as perfume, travel and cars.

From my fieldwork and survey observations the archetypical middle class Euro-lifestyler in Martinborough was likely to be affluent and tertiary-educated in commerce, management, law or other professional degrees. They were typically conversant with fashionable, personalised technologies such as iPods or Blackberries; appreciated the minimal, yet functional aesthetics of neo-modernist furnishings, architecture and European cars (e.g. Audi, Mercedes etc); consumed fashionable wines such as Pinot Noir; and dine-out on gourmet foods as much for taste as for their exotic configurations (e.g. Fusion Pacific), visual presentation (e.g. Nouvelle Cuisine) and their 'hip' or fashionable status. If the beneficiary of a liberal humanist education, the typical Martinborough cosmopolitan also set great intellectual store by contemporary New Zealand and international literature, art, theatre, art movies, jazz, classical music, and other 'arty' endeavours (see Bourdieu 1984 for an analysis of similar French middle class tastes).

Martinborough's Euro-lifestylers were also characterised by a composed, yet appreciative detachment, a sort of posturing that is not overtly effusive or emotional but which conveys an intense, seemingly informed and discerning engagement with the *'finer things of life'*. For many tourists, however, adherence to this disposition was not absolute but rather appeared to be contextual (i.e. most likely to be exhibited at haute-culture events such as art exhibitions). Thus tourists' holiday experiences were often punctuated by seemingly genuine, demonstrative and sociably enthusiastic responses to various events, products and people. The typical Martinborough cosmopolitan was also just as likely to express and display an affection for more popularist cultural phenomena such as New Zealand rock music, mainstream movies such as *The Lord of the Rings*, barbeques and watching, or participating in, popular sporting pastimes (e.g. rugby).



Fig. 21. The Martinborough Vineyard wine shop with its convex roof and Mediterranean exterior (www.martinboroughvineyard.co.nz, November 2006).

Nevertheless the ethos of Euro-style was pervasive in Martinborough and was often reflected in the township's contemporary architecture and interior designs. For example, many of the buildings on Martinborough's vineyards displayed marked leanings toward faux-European architecture. The wine shop at Martinborough Vineyard (see Fig. 21.) was Mediterranean in character, being convex in shape with a plastered exterior painted peach-yellow and with exposed, round wood beams jutting out at either end. The interior was designed to resemble the inside of a wine barrel (pers. comm.) with narrow, tongue and grooved, heavily varnished timbers lining the ceiling and two, black iron bands crossing the width on perpendicular curves (although with actual wine barrels the iron bands are situated on the outside). At Winslow Wines, the wine shop, winery and domestic residences (see Fig.22.) were built in faux French/Germanic style, being narrow, two-storied, cream coloured plastered buildings with narrow, deep-set windows, ornamental wrought iron balconies and orange/red tiled roofs. The winery at Ata Rangi (see Fig.23.) was styled on a Burgundian building (pers. comm.) and the tall two storied building had austere grey-earth coloured plastered walls, narrow windows and a dark iron roof with exposed wooden eaves. The original plans for the Lintz Estate winery were in a German neo-gothic style, complete with stone cloisters and gargoyles (pers. comm.).

Such architectural inclinations partly reflect the colonial history and continuing influence of international architecture in New Zealand (Toomath 2005; Clark and Walker 2000). Indeed faux French and other mock European architectural styles are replicated in other wine-growing and tourists areas of New Zealand:

“Tourism – now our biggest industry – has always had its own architecture. Tudor Rotorua and Deco Napier are the best examples. Tudor and Deco are simply styles without specific locale, but when they are thoroughly sustained they can stamp a place with a memorable image...[however] in Central Otago the question of authenticity arises again in the buildings for wineries. In the 1980’s and 90’s, most of the architecture of the wine industry evoked Provence – an odd response from an industry sensitive to *terroir*” (Mitchell 2005: 138).

Fig. 22. The Winslow Wines’ home, winery and wine shop built in faux German/ French style.

The vineyard buildings were not, however, simply intentional simulations or imitations (Baudrillard 1988) of stereotypically classical exemplars of various European architectural styles. Rather they were vernacular interpretations of a romanticised and generalised Euro-chic lifestyle (see Fig. 25). Moreover, they were pragmatic expressions in that they utilised easily accessible and affordable local resources (e.g. exterior walls plastered on to *Hardi-flex*, rather than over stone).

Fig. 23. The Ata Rangi winery built in faux Burgundian style.

Many Martinborough winemakers have modelled their innovative endeavours on the stylised archetypes of an elite French wine culture (see Chapter 8), which from the social and cultural distance of New Zealand appears to seamlessly blend with the similarly urbane Mediterranean-cum-European bricolage that includes the leisured consumption of good food, fine wine and good friends that is preferably enjoyed in chic, yet classical, metro-rural surrounds. Thus Martinborough's vineyard architecture, winemaking and associated urbane lifestyle undoubtedly pays homage to a European epicurean high-culture, while simultaneously attempting to operationally improve upon and vernacularly embed the same. For example, although the wineries may be faux European in style, but they are also hi-tech with temperature controlled, stainless steel vats, which in authentic pioneering DIY⁹¹ style are often second-hand and sourced from the dairy and beer-brewing industries; or the use of butt-jointed, veneer or tongue-and-grooved native timbers for the interior walls of domestic residences rather than stark, white plastered façades that are often favoured in fashionable French or Italian interiors.

⁹¹ Do-it-yourself or self-sufficient style.

Fig. 24. A local Martinborough house displaying Greek influences with respect to the azure blue dome and white plastered exterior.

Much of the newly constructed architecture around Martinborough conforms to this pragmatic and progressive blending of international (particularly United States and European) neo-modernist and vernacular or regional styles (Clark and Walker 2002: 45; Heneghan 2005: 115; Toomath 2005: 50) to create an idealised metro-rural aesthetic. For example, the subdivision Cottage Grove Resort on Jellicoe Road, built on a 14.5 hectare site south of the township, was designed “as a resort village with a winery theme... Cottage Grove will have all the ambience of life on a picturesque working winery” (Martinborough Cottage Grove Resort brochure 1999: 7). The title Cottage Grove alone invokes sylvan images of the faux New Zealand colonial/ urbane cottages situated within the metro-rural environs of a Euro-chic olive grove. The resort or ‘rural village’ was to ultimately include 120 residences and a impressive number of leisure-orientated spaces including a “magnificent 700 square-metre restaurant”, conference centre, heated indoor swimming pool, two all-season tennis courts, petanque court, fully equipped gymnasium, computer room (“for the kids”), billiards room (“for dad”), on-site beautician (“for mum”) and 2.3 hectares of table grapes, 1600 olive, plum, lemon, and feijoa trees planted in between buildings (Martinborough Cottage Grove Resort brochure 1999: 12; Martinborough Cottage Grove Resort Outlook 1999: Issue 1).

More particularly the architect for the subdivision proposed to build residences that:

“Echoes the unpretentious buildings of the Wairarapa rural district. These robust structures with their simple cladding of horizontal lapping boarding or corrugated iron have a sophistication of utilitarian form unique to the

rural environment... Individual cottages are laid out so that living areas adjoin pleasant private and sunny open spaces. The overall planning provides for easy access to ...recreational areas, tennis courts and swimming pools, yet maintains residential areas devoid of through traffic” (Stephen Bowers – quoted in Martinborough Cottage Grove Resort brochure 1999: 8).

This project was originally called ‘The Village at Martinborough’ and besides possessing its own village square that clearly referenced Martinborough’s town square, it was also to feature a range of 2–3 bedroom cottages, together with 2 bedroom, bunk and studio lodges complete with electronic security access and alarms, dishwashers, electric waste disposal, automated garage doors etc. Several sites were reserved as “exclusive lifestyle lots where owners are invited to design and build the country home of their choice...[though] the plans and colour schemes may need to comply with Cottage Grove building codes in order to maintain the overall architectural theme of the village” (Martinborough Cottage Grove Resort brochure 1999: 18). It was also proposed that owners could be permanent residents, weekenders or they could “take up the attractive income option, gaining financial return from their property by allowing its use as resort guest accommodation” (though this required the additional purchase of a Cottage Grove furniture package – Martinborough Cottage Grove Resort brochure 1999: 18). A limited number of one bedroom and bunkroom lodges were offered for sale with a rent guarantee of 8.75% net of purchase price for two years.

Newspaper advertisements highlighted this apparent seamless fusion of Euro–chic and vernacular metro-rural refinement:

“A special place... Imagine yourself in a wide, sylvan valley where the warm summer sun filters through long rows of ripening grapevines.

Tuscany? Provence?

No. Much closer to home...

Martinborough Cottage Grove Resort” (The Dominion, May 1, 1999: 1).

Other promotional material for Cottage Grove Resort emphasised the overall metro-rural ethos of the project, especially the opportunity it offered individuals to escape from the perceived shortcomings of city life to an idyllic, urbane, calculatingly reflexive and sociable retreat:

“Follow **your** dream...

Its time to extend **your** horizon beyond the city’s boundaries, away from the exhaust fumes and concrete jungle; to include a peaceful, rural haven where there’s unlimited room to move, healthier air to breathe and endless opportunities for leisure and outdoor adventure.

Establish, once and for all, **a place for family and friends** to enjoy; in the heart of one of the world’s most idyllic, pastoral domains. Where the weather is warmer and drier and winemaking is a way of life... It’s right on your doorstep” (Martinborough Cottage Grove Resort brochure 1999: 1 – emphasis mine).

The developer’s rhetoric of sylvan ambience was, however, incongruent with the grounded rurality represented by the physical site of the proposed subdivision in Jellicoe Street. According to the developer’s own appraisal, this land was bare grassland and was “predominantly used for grazing, although it is not a viable farming unit” (Boffa Miskell 1998: n.p). Neither was the site suitable for viticultural purposes and contained only one “occupied dwelling house” (Boffa Miskell 1998: n.p), which was a fairly standard and functional, 1950’s style, square-shaped weatherboard home. Indeed this rurality of bare grasslands (i.e. dry and in quite poor condition especially during summer months) and bounded by a ‘No.8 wire’ fence appeared fairly standard for the area. Aside from domestic gardens situated near farm residences, most of the farmland in Martinborough was not liberally interspersed with shade and fruit trees, nor do vineyards generally propagate table grapes for domestic consumption. Corrugated iron is virtually never used as external wall cladding on rural domestic buildings⁹² (except on outbuildings such as gear sheds) and is primarily used as a roofing or fencing material. Thus the overall impression of Martinborough’s, and most of New Zealand’s, rural landscapes is one of optimal intensive land use and commodity production, and certainly not of domestic plantings of fruit trees and table grapes. Thus the rural ambience that the developers were seeking to replicate was more specifically the leisured, metro-rural urbanity typically favoured by Martinborough tourists.

⁹² Corrugated iron was, however, used in the 1900’s in urban homes on exterior walls when a firewall was necessary between nearby residences. Today, however, it is being increasingly used on the exterior walls of contemporary urban homes as a design/architectural feature.

In December 1997 another proposed subdivision, Martinborough Estate, was launched at a public meeting held in the town hall. At this meeting, one of developers, Richard Worley, similarly claimed that Martinborough Estate, a high-quality, exclusive subdivision of 52 freehold properties situated on 34 hectares adjacent to the Martinborough Golf Course, would be in '*sympathy with the land*' and would represent a '*rural living environment*' designed for weekenders, city-dwellers wishing to permanently relocate, and those '*farmers looking for somewhere nice to retire in town*' (pers. comm.). Martinborough Estate was to feature a small lake, extensive tree plantings, no boundary fences between houses, no commercial crops, no hanging of "laundry, towels, clothing, bedding, or other articles from any part of the House" (Martinborough Estate Draft Restrictive Covenants 1997) and no animals other than domestic pets such as "cats, dogs and caged birds" (Martinborough Estate Draft Restrictive Covenants 1997). Following this meeting I drove out to the proposed site and the contrast I observed could not have been starker (see Fig.25.). The site was primarily undulating grassland, already browning in the early summer heat, about a dozen or so sheep restfully grazed and apart from a few scraggly pines on the Golf Course boundary, was devoid of trees.

Fig.25. The site of the proposed Martinborough Estate development – note the grasslands, absence of trees and stark wire fences.

Despite the rhetoric of maintaining, complimenting or even enhancing the innate rural character of these settings, both developers were actually proposing to (re)create park

or garden like settings that would appeal to the metro–rural sensibilities of Wellington urbanites. As noted these sensibilities orbit around a rural idyll that fetishises the pastoral landscape for its’ perceived picturesque, botanic aesthetics and thus transforms or enhances various functional settings of rural work and domesticity into Euro–chic environs designed to maximise urbane comfort and leisure opportunities. Both developers effectively conceded this ethos in their promotional material:

“Martinborough Estate – A Weekend retreat for family and friends or ideal location for country living, Martinborough combines a relaxed ambience with varied recreational activities...The Estate...will comprise some 52 architecturally designed freehold homes, set in parkland landscape...[designed] to enhance the qualities of this special site” (Martinborough Estate brochure 1998: n.p).

“[Cottage Grove is] to be developed from rural to urban in an orderly and well planned manner that would not adversely affect the character of the town... The comprehensive planting and grounds management plan would be produced to create a park like setting... It should be noted that it is not proposed to plant vines on a commercial basis, rather to provide aesthetic value to open space” (Boffa Miskell 1998: n.p).

Unsurprisingly, however, the proposed Cottage Grove subdivision proved unpopular with a number of Martinborough’s permanent residents and 23 individuals made submissions against the developers, Eiger Investments Ltd, request to the South Wairarapa District Council to rezone the 14.5 hectares in Jellicoe Street from rural to urban residential. More than 20 submissions, including one from the Martinborough Community Board, requested that the zoning change be rejected outright and the land be retained as farmland. Objections primarily centred on the perceived negative impact that high–density housing would have on the township’s infrastructure such as water provision, sewage and rubbish disposal; the increase in car traffic through Martinborough’s town centre; and the social implications of gated communities or time–share resorts in the district.

At the District Plan amendment hearing one resident, a relative newcomer from Wellington who had retired to Martinborough, told me that the proposed resort: *‘Was*

not in keeping with the character of Martinborough'. She said that she and her husband had moved to Martinborough because the local community was *'very friendly'* and that a gated resort would spoil this by creating an unnecessary division between the *'Wellington yuppies with their flash cars'* and the local community. Another resident said they couldn't understand why the developers wanted to *'create another village in Martinborough'*. She also thought the proposed development was *'elitist'* and didn't like the idea that the resort would have its own recreational amenities such as a swimming pool and tennis courts that would be for the exclusive use of resort residents: *'What's wrong with the Martinborough public pool? Are they all too good for us?'* (Martinborough resident, female, late 30's). Nevertheless, after the developers agreed to include a second vehicle entry/egress on Regent Street on the south eastern side of the subdivision to ease potential traffic congestion on Jellicoe Street, the subdivision was approved by the South Wairarapa District Council in February 1999.

The proposed Cottage Grove development did not, however, prove popular with prospective buyers and two years after its approval it was reported that they had failed to sell a single lot or property (Wairarapa Times–Age 20 October, 2001: 1, 3). There was speculation that the resort had failed to capture the imagination of potential buyers because of the lack of actual on-site development, which made it difficult to envisage the final development: “At present Cottage Grove is merely a gravel road scoured from poorly–maintained sheep paddocks – lined with overgrown pine trees” (Unidentified man quoted in Wairarapa Times–Age 20 October, 2001: 3). A Wellington couple interested in purchasing property in Martinborough told me the proposal was unattractive because it was *'too uniform'* and too much like the *'time–share resorts in Queenstown'*⁹³. They said they much preferred to renovate or build a new house in Martinborough that reflected their *'individual tastes'*.

In March 2002 the Cottage Grove site was purchased by Holmes Construction, a building firm located in nearby Greytown, and then re–released as a “Lifestyle Subdivision Development” (www.cottagegrove.co.nz, June 2005), consisting of 44 sections ranging from 490 to 1800 square metres. Individuals could build residences based on their own designs and thus create their “own little piece of Paradise”

⁹³ Queenstown is a holiday and ski resort in the South Island of New Zealand. It is very popular with both domestic and international tourists .

(www.cottagegrove.co.nz, June 2005), although these were still subject to building covenants which sought to ensure that “Cottage Grove’s value is enhanced by all new homes that are put up, and to protect the overall look of the development” (www.cottagegrove.co.nz, June 2005). The facilities had been scaled back to a communal tennis court, petanque court and “numerous private reserve areas” (www.cottagegrove.co.nz, June 2005), though property owners would still enjoy exclusive use of their “own, private road (for owners and friends)” (www.cottagegrove.co.nz, June 2005). By June 2005, 26 of the first stage of 30 sections had been sold.

During the same period Martinborough Estate, which did not attract the same local opposition and had originally offered property owners the opportunity to design and build their own (albeit superiorly-appointed) residences, was a commercial success with properties reportedly “snapped up by dual-income young, successful apartment dwellers looking to get out of the city” (Wairarapa Times–Age 20 October, 2001: 3). As one resident told me: *‘Cottage Grove is tacky, little boxes for itinerant tourists...[whereas] the Martinborough Estate adds some real class to the town’*, although they were concerned that Martinborough would eventually become an exclusive *‘rich man’s playground’* (Martinborough resident, female, late 30’s). In many respects the success of the Martinborough Estate and the reincarnated Cottage Grove developments is because they both enable individuals to reflexively design and build their own residences beyond a minimally established (and widely articulated) threshold of refined appointment. Both developments thus robustly appealed to the metro-rural entanglement of bucolic settings, cosmopolitan urbanity and reflexive individualism, and therefore enabled performative displays of middle class distinction, personal choice and of house-owner’s unique personalities.

Conclusion

The tourists’ metro-rural aspirations and desires are founded upon a bricolage of romanticised, seemingly enduring and socially worthwhile sentiments that are ideologically embedded within an imagined, vernacular rural idyll and which are also purposefully exploited to provide the moral foundations for their conspicuous modes of urbane, leisured consumption and reflexive sociality. These entangled influences and ideals are routinely endorsed within the habitus of a variety of places in Martinborough,

which range from the picturesque through to the neighbourly, romantic, historic, cosmopolitan and Euro-chic. These distinctive, yet mutually constitutive places are some of the performative settings in which Martinborough's middle class tourists variously display, negotiate and pursue cherished social distinction and ideal reflexive individuality.

Accordingly the idyllic sentiment of harmonious rural families and communities chiefly finds expression in the tourists' choice of, and affable social intercourse with, holidaying lovers and friends. Likewise historical cottages, villas and hotels, often sourced from a variety of epochs, are highly desired especially when renovated to exacting middle class standards of comfort, luxury and with baths big enough to accommodate two. Transnational ethnoscapings of cosmopolitanism are expressed in the form of idealised European suave-faire that resonates through the faux French/Mediterranean architecture and practices of pastorally situated wineries, new housing developments and in Pinot-Noir coloured lamp-posts.

The tourists' pursuit of reflexive sociality, social distinction (general and hierarchised) and ideal reflexive individuality are likewise evident in their leisured, performative and appreciative quaffing of Martinborough's fine wines. In the remaining chapters I explore how the production and in-situ consumption of Martinborough wine similarly references the rural and metro-rural idyll, together with the equally mythologised '*French tradition*' of fine wine and the New World wine ethos of progressive innovation and experimentation. I also discuss how these reciprocating mythologies, in collusion with the historical development of wine as a singular commodity and the democratisation of wine's cultural capital, underpins ethnographic manifestations of middle class distinction while simultaneously moderating the effects of status stratification by enabling, in public forum at least, individuals to sustain idealised narratives and performances of personal tastes, reflexive sociality and reflexive distinction that persistently emphasise and celebrate an autonomous, exalted self.

Chapter Five:

Fine wine, social distinction and ideal reflexive individualism

Introduction

I was working at the Martinborough Information Centre one afternoon when I noticed a late model Toyota Camry pull over and park outside. A short time later a middle-aged man, dressed casually but smartly in a Rodd & Gunn jacket, entered the centre and excitedly asked me if I knew the way to Ata Rangi and Martinborough Vineyard. Before I could reply he launched into a euphoric monologue of how Pinot Noir sourced from these vineyards featured in his personal wine cellar and how he travelled from Christchurch in the South Island specifically to visit the vineyards and their winemakers. With visible pride he recounted how, on his journey north and through a friend's personal contact, he had met with Kevin Judd, the renowned winemaker at Cloudy Bay in Marlborough. Then he said that although he didn't have any similar local links, meeting the winemakers at Ata Rangi and Martinborough Vineyard, Clive Paton and Larry McKenna respectively, would be a highlight of his '*wine career*' to date. He then asked if I personally knew the winemakers and if they were approachable. I assured him that they were and that if they were at their vineyards he would surely receive a warm welcome. Then I gave him a tourist map of Martinborough's vineyards and he departed in an obvious state of excitement (Howland 2004: 103).

Expressive wines

This tourist's excitement in visiting Martinborough and his eagerness to meet local winemakers was reasonably common, especially so amongst holidaying wine enthusiasts. Visiting vineyards and consuming locally produced wine in-situ was rated by surveyed tourists as a primary reason for holidaying in Martinborough (see Appendix D). As a part of a "whole category of social life" (Douglas 1987: 9) the tourists' leisured consumption of wine, winemakers and vineyards must be considered in conjunction with their idyllic metro-rural constructs, narratives and performances, especially those pertaining to the expression of a reflexive self and the dynamic pluralities of social distinction:

“Cultural notions are concretised in goods, and it is through their possession and use that the individual realises the notions in his own life” (McCracken 1990: 88).

The consumption of alcohol, indeed of all commodities, significantly contributes to, and reflects, the socio-cultural construction of “the actual world... drinks are in the world... They are as real as bricks and mortar. They are examples of things that constitute the world, they enter into bundles of other real things, with times and lists of names and calendrical connections” (1987: 9). Or as Demossier notes wine “consumption relates to its production and by consuming wine we are consuming space, time and symbols” (2001: 2). Thus analysis of the production, exchange and consumption of food and drink⁹⁴ informs us that “every mouthful, every meal, can tell us something about ourselves, and about our place in the world” (Bell and Valentine 1997- quoted in Finkelstein 2004: 63).

The very ordinariness of food and drink enables such products to be continually written over with novel meanings, symbolism and social practice (Finkelstein 2004; James 2005). As an empty, yet over-determined signifier, food (and by extension drink, which is subject to less social ordering via meal categorisation - re: Douglas 1975) functions as a text through which the flux and plurality of social life is potentially made intelligible: “Food is a system of communication, a body of images, a protocol of usages, situations and behaviours... Food has a constant tendency to transform itself into situation” (Counihan & Van Esterik 1997: 21 & 26). Indeed consuming wine or alcohol, which is often regarded as a ritualised, luxury and leisured product (Johnson 1998) also fosters expressions of an ideal world: “[Drinks] make an intelligible, bearable world which is more how an ideal world should be than the painful chaos threatening all the time” (Douglas 1987: 11). Thus the tourists’ desire and excitement

⁹⁴ Cross-cultural and historical studies have found that food and/or drink create political-economic values, processes, and hierarchies (e.g. Anderson 2004; Mintz 1985; Seymour 2004; Unwin 1991); are central to the creation, evaluation, enactment and social validation of symbolic/religious values, categorical paradigms, social interactions and contexts, notions of (inter)subjectivity, authenticity, sanctioned protocols and normative practice (Barthes 1987; Counihan & Van Esterik 1997; Douglas 1975, 1989; Levi-Strauss 1979; Finkelstein 2004; Fuller 1996; Harris 1985; Heath 2000; Heldke 2005; Mennell 1997; Ritzer 1998, 2005; Wilson 2005); construct and reflect the dynamics of social inclusion and exclusion (Hunt & Satterlee 1986; Mars 1989; Thornton 1989), status negotiation (Bourdieu 1984; Demossier 1997, 2001, 2004, 2005; Johnson 1998) and social change and adaptation (Goody 1982; Ulin 1985, 1988; Watson 1997); create place, memory, time, and intersubjectivities that range through the imagined, practiced, pluralistic, contextual, local, national and international (Demossier 2001; Duruz 1999; James 2005; Hall et al 2000, 2003; Sloan 2004; Ulin 1987, 1995, 1996; Wilson 2005).

about visiting the vineyards, meeting renowned winemakers and leisurely tasting, purchasing and consuming locally-produced wines in-situ and in the reflexive company of friends and lovers is dialogically embedded within their constructs of Martinborough as a rural and metro-rural idyll and in their performative displays, narrations and negotiations of social distinction and ideal reflexive individualism.

The in-situ production and leisured consumption of wine was pivotal in the tourists' dispositional deployment of various middle class economic, cultural and social capitals. As noted the conspicuous and appreciative consumption of expensive, high-quality Martinborough wines was denotative of generalised middle class distinction and was constitutive in the mechanisms of status stratification and hierarchisation. The construction of wine as an urbane, elite commodity was not only underpinned by the tourists' recreational consumption of metro-rural Martinborough, but was augmented by the mythologised, stereotypical '*French tradition*' that many regarded as a benchmark in establishing exemplary standards for the production and consumption of high-quality wine. The pervasive '*French tradition*' also linked wine production and consumption to the transnational ethnoscape of middle class cosmopolitanism. Furthermore Martinborough's flagship wine, Pinot Noir, was typically categorised as an elite wine (Robinson 1999: 534), being difficult to produce in terms of quality and one of the most complex and nuanced in terms of taste. The innate materiality of wines such as Pinot Noir to evolve and progressively mature after pressing, bottling and over years of cellaring, and the subtle variation between wines of different vintages, vineyards and produced by distinct winemakers, effectively ensures their consumption is linked with the nuanced and fashionable commodity ephemerality so cherished by many of Martinborough middle class tourists.

In addition, the ideals of reflexive individualism such as uniqueness, progressive development and autonomy were also sought in, and attributed to, Martinborough winemakers, wine consumption and consumers, and in wine as a product. Wine endeavours in Martinborough were also underpinned by a New World wine⁹⁵ ethos,

⁹⁵ New World wines refer to those made in countries such as Australia, United States and New Zealand. The term New World is typically used to distinguish colonies established by European colonisation. Therefore New World wines are thus contrasted with their Old World or European counterparts (Robinson 1999: 482).

which is often framed within a nationalistic fervour for New Zealand wines and winemaking in general. This ethos celebrates pioneership, encourages innovation and experimentation, and ultimately creates a space for the reflexive production and consumption of wine. Influential in this ethos is the celebrity status that winemakers' are characteristically accorded and the pervasive notion that their unique personalities, production philosophies and palates are determinative of wines' quality and taste characteristics.

The reflexive construction of wine is also influenced by its historical development as a singular commodity, the associated democratisation of the cultural capital of connoisseur-like wine consumption and the contemporary import of conspicuous settings such as restaurants. These factors combine so that the leisured, performative consumption of wine and other urbane commodities are recurrently cast as opportunities for the display, evaluation and negotiation of various reflexive and social distinction projects. Thus performative consumption of wine was seen to variously facilitate ideal reflexive individuality, especially via socially validated assertions of personal choice/ taste and the biographisation of winemakers and consumers; the reflexive sociality achieved through the romanticised fellowship of self-selected drinking companions and via the establishment of friendly relations with winemakers; and a vacationing *communitas* of wine-drinkers; broad-spectrum and stratified cosmopolitanism created by means of the disparate deployment of economic, social and cultural capitals associated with fine wine. Articulations of socially acknowledged personal tastes and justificatory narratives of reflexive distinction, which that validated personal status orientations and rankings, clearly mitigated against the consequences of downclassing and stratification, and in public fora at least, enabled individuals to sustain coherent narratives of an ideal reflexive self.

The metro-rural idyll, the '*French tradition*' and New World wines

Tourists characteristically celebrated winemaking in Martinborough that dynamically reproduced and reflected their mythological constructs of the rural idyll. As noted the in-situ production and leisured consumption of Martinborough wine was significantly embedded within the tourists' picturesque aesthetics of orderly and pristine vineyards. Moreover, there was also a pervasive expectation that local wine would be exemplarily natural, unadulterated and '*clean, green*'. Tourists also idealised the perceived

boutique-character of Martinborough vineyards, especially vineyards that were promoted or perceived as family-run endeavours and which purposefully embraced handmade or artisan-like winemaking (see Chapter 6). The boutique, family and artisan ethos dialogically attributed to Martinborough winemaking was also believed to result in the production of highly distinctive and reflexive wines (see Chapter 7). Lastly wine was cast as an urbane commodity and its appreciative consumption a significant marker of middle class distinction (see Chapter 8). Thus wine production and its leisured consumption in Martinborough also effectively contributed to, and reflected, the metro-rurality routinely pursued by tourists.

The culture of wine in Martinborough, and of New Zealand in general, was also underscored by a similarly idealised mythology centred on the impassioned production and consumption of high-quality French wine or on the '*French tradition*' as it was typically referred to. As Demossier points out:

“For French people, wine, or more precisely, the love of good wine, characterises Frenchness in much the same way as being born in France, fighting for liberty or speaking French. The cliché of the French people as a nation of wine connoisseurs remains widespread within France and abroad” (2005: 131).

The history of systematic production of quality wine in France can be traced to the Cistercian monks invention of the concepts of *cru* and *climat* (see below) in the 12th century and also to Dom Perignon’s golden rules of winemaking in Champagne set out in 1718 (Johnson 1998: 212-213 – see Appendix F). The idealised '*French tradition*' narratives of Martinborough’s tourists, however, typically focused on generalised traditions of best practice in production such as maturing wine in oak barrels and the associated quest for classical taste characteristics (e.g. low tannin and the sensual essence of plum, old cigar, and forest floor for Pinot Noir), which were seen by many to be essential in the production of high-quality wine. Similarly, model consumption practices were also attributed to the '*French tradition*', for example drinking red wine at room temperature and using the appropriate varietal wine glasses, and were seen as necessary protocols in the appreciative or connoisseur-like consumption of wine.

Aside from individuals who were connoisseurs or ardent wine enthusiasts, most tourists were not however directly familiar with French wines, especially with the range of quality produced, nor with the history and contemporary deployment of appellation⁹⁶ systems of wine production that are utilised by French winemakers to determine wine quality. Thus the ‘*French tradition*’ of wine, much like the vernacular rural idyll, was cast as an idealised and enduring mythology that was primarily deployed to validate the contemporary ideals tourists attributed to quality wine and the middle class distinction ascribed to consumers.

An advert for *Deutz Methode Traditionelle*⁹⁷ produced in Marlborough (in the South Island of New Zealand) clearly articulated this mythological and generalised ethos:

“OUR ROOTS ARE IN CHAMPANGE BUT OUR VINES ARE FIRMLY
PLANTED IN MARLBOROUGH’ (NZ Home & Building, 1999,
December-January: n.p - emphasis in original).

Or as Stan Chifney, one of the founding winemakers of Martinborough, once stated: “It is almost impossible to write about [produce or consume] wine without mentioning France” (Martinborough Winemakers’ Oral History 1990). This appears especially true of Martinborough’s winemakers who, for the most part, do not have any direct historical or genealogical links with wine cultures elsewhere in the world. In this respect they contrast with the Croatian and Lebanese immigrants who transported their wine traditions from their homelands to west Auckland, New Zealand, in the early 1900’s (Cooper 2002). Nevertheless the establishment of a Pinot Noir dominated wine industry in Martinborough was significantly premised on the observations of Dr Derek Milne (a DSIR soil scientist and founder of Martinborough Vineyard) that the area shared many soil, climatic, and durational characteristics of the Grand Cru growing areas of Burgundy (see Chapter 6).

⁹⁶ Appellation systems were originally used in Ancient Greece. France’s *Appellation Controlle* (first established in 1905 and later revised in 1939 to the *Appellation d’Origine Controlle*), legally defined the “country, region or area for a given wine whose characteristics and qualities are the result of its geographical origin, which includes natural and human factors” (Institut National des Appellations d’Origine n.d: 1). The French system includes recognition of different soil types, as well as codification of appropriate grape varieties, methods of growing, and winemaking techniques (Robinson 1999: 27-29).

⁹⁷ Under international agreements brokered by the European Union only sparkling wines made in the French appellation region of Champagne, with its three champagne-producing towns of Rheims, Epernay and Ay, are allowed to be labelled ‘champagne’. Other producers tend to call their product ‘methode traditionnelle’ to highlight the notion that they are producing wines using the ‘traditional methods’ of France’s champagne producers and hence similar sparkling wines (Robinson 1999: 153).

The idealised '*French tradition*' was believed by many tourists to be exceptionally historical or enduring, and thus like the romanticised rural idyll resonated with Lovemark authenticity and validation (Foster 2005; Roberts 2004). Although the conception (and codification) of utilising systematic and best practice viticulture to produce top-quality wines first emerged in the 12th century in France, the model of distinct vineyard and varietal-specific wines did not materialise until the 17th century and more importantly the nation-wide appellation systems, which essentially attempt to determine and certify wine quality, did not emerge in France until the 1930's (Robinson 1999; Johnson 1998). Furthermore, the mythologised '*French tradition*' principally centred on the production and consumption of top-quality and hand-crafted wines. This criterion, however, only really applies to exceptional (contemporary and historical) French wines, for example Grand Cru Burgundy or First-growth Bordeaux wines, and thus ignores the multitudes of low quality *vin de table* or *vin de pays* wines that account for approximately 30% of wine produced in France (Robinson 1999: 287).

Most tourists were also unaware that in some European countries, including France, innovative commodification practices are being pursued in an effort to counteract the increased popularity of New World wines and alcopops (i.e. pre-mixed spirit and fizzy drinks), and thus attract younger and new generations of wine consumers. For example, some French wine producers have started to label their wines by varietal, rather than chateaux or regional, classifications. In 2005 Thierry Boudinard, a winemaker in Languedoc region of Southern France not only released his wines under varietal designations, but also under the label of "Fat Bastard" after the winemaker apparently exclaimed in enthusiasm after trying an experimental wine left on the lees⁹⁸: "now zat iz what you call eh phet bast-ard" (www.fatbastardwine.com/our-story.php, November 2007). In addition, Cordier Mestrezat, a French wine distribution company, has started selling Bordeaux wine in snack-size 25cl cartons with special straws that apparently recreate the sensation of tasting wine from a glass. According to one 21-year-old Parisian "bringing small wine containers with straws to a party is more amusing than

⁹⁸ Lees is an old English word for the dregs or sediment that can settle on the bottom of a container. In winemaking the lees consists of grape seeds, pulp, stems, and skins, and also of dead yeast cells. Typically clear wine is separated from the lees as soon as possible after the first fermentation to ensure that the dead yeast does not destroy itself with its own enzymes and accordingly the wine can be stabilised and clarified. Some wines are, however, deliberately left on fine lees (as opposed to coarse lees) if greater complexity of flavour is desired (Robinson 1999: 403).

arriving with a bottle” (www.guardian.co.uk/france/story, November 2007). In fact the French wine industry is at the forefront of scientific efforts to explore model and innovative practices in winemaking with oenological *academes* at Bourdeaux University, Université de Bourgogne in Dijon and the University of Montpellier being widely regarded in the international wine industry as leading research centres (Robinson 1999: 92, 231, 459). Only a few tourists were, however, sufficiently well informed to note that the French, Italian and other European or ‘Old World’ wine industries are also at the forefront of innovative wine production (Johnson 1998: 458-464; Robinson 1999: 284-285).

The tourists’ romanticised ‘*French tradition*’ was complimented by an equally idealised New World wine ethos, which was frequently espoused by winemakers when instructing tourists about their winemaking philosophies. The New World wine ethos emphasises progressive experimentation, innovation and the use of standardised production techniques to ensure consistent and ever-increasing wine quality. The New World ethos was also influential in what one prominent New Zealand wine reviewer called the ‘*cult of the winemaker*’ (pers. comm.), which celebrates the reflexive individuality of winemakers and asserts that their personalised, unique skills and associated production philosophies, wine palates etc are crucial to the quality and taste characteristics of any wine (see Chapter 7). New World winemakers are thus effectively cast as the conscientious yet innovative beneficiaries of centuries of French winemaking experience. Accordingly for many tourists the ‘*French tradition*’ and New World mythologies combined to produce ‘best of both worlds’ narratives that simultaneously created and validated the high quality and progressive ethos of wine production in Martinborough.

The constitutive components of the rural idyll were routinely extolled by the majority of Martinborough’s tourists, with the only dissenting accounts being those expressed by a minority with intimate knowledge of the multifaceted tribulations of rural life (see Chapter 3). Articulation of the ‘*French tradition*’/New World mythologies was not, however, as prevalent amongst tourists, but neither did it attract the same degree of dissenting or alternative discourses. The New World ethos was principally articulated by tourists in terms of nationalistic sentiments and it fundamentally asserted that New Zealand wines were world-class and continually advanced the benchmarks of quality

(see Chapter 7). Assertions that local winemakers and wines were pioneering, innovative and progressive echoes the nationalistic ideals attributed (historically and contemporaneously) to New Zealand society (Belich 1996; Bell 1996 – see Appendix E). A more jaundiced understanding of this idealistic narrative was, however, expressed publicly by a select category of wine connoisseurs and in the more private conversations of those directly involved in the wine industry (e.g. winemakers, vintners, wine critics etc). Moreover, it was mostly framed in terms of recognising the contribution to innovation and quality advances of both New and Old World wine industries. For example, Dr Neil McCallum, winemaker at Dry River, stated that: “Winemaking technology has taken large strides in the last 50 years, producing a minor revolution in how the wine is made. And make no mistake, the “traditional” wineries of Europe are frequently leading the way in these innovations” (www.dryriver.co.nz, November 2006). Beyond such erudite individuals, however, the emblematic New World/ *‘French tradition’* narrative was either absent, not subscribed to, or was partially developing in the discourses and practice of most Martinborough’s tourists.

In part, this difference reflects the wide spectrum of wine experience and knowledge of Martinborough’s tourists, as opposed to their more commonplace perceptions of rurality. Many novices, unfamiliar with different wine varieties and styles, were also often unacquainted with the global wine industry and even the categorisation of Old and New World wines. Most were, however, keen to learn about different varieties, classifications and quality valuations of wine and about Martinborough wines in particular. For example, I frequently observed tourists take notes as I described the characteristics of the various wines for sale when I was working in the vineyard’s wine shop. Indeed wine novices typically quickly adopted the narratives of New World progress and French classical quality narratives as a way of validating their perceptions of the increasingly high quality of Martinborough wines.

A significant minority of tourists, however, expressed little intent or desire to acquire a wine education and some specifically indicated that they were not interested in acquiring detailed knowledge, other than remembering what they personally liked in terms of wine. Nevertheless this category of essentially self-referent wine tourists did not typically proffer any alternative or dissenting narratives to the dominant New World/ *‘French tradition’* narrative. Although a couple of individuals did inform me

that the adulatory rhetoric surrounding wine was essentially '*pompous claptrap*' designed to mystify consumers into believing they were partaking of something extraordinary, rather than simply '*drinking alcohol*'. The New World/'*French tradition*' idealisation of Martinborough's wine was therefore a dominant discourse amongst tourists and one that validated the notion that local wines were innovatively produced and of progressively high-quality. Consequently the consumers of Martinborough's wines were likewise trend-setters and of superior social status.

Euro-cosmopolitan transformation

The substantive establishment of a wine industry in Martinborough owes much to the dialogic influences of European sensibilities, science and the passions of various well-educated, middle class individuals who were inspired to reproduce an idealised French wine culture and accordant cosmopolitan lifestyles in this tiny region of the South Wairarapa. In fact most winemakers developed their urbane dispositions in the metropolitan environs of New Zealand and Europe before deciding to purposefully pursue an idealised metro-rural lifestyle in Martinborough.

Martinborough in the late 1970's, like many rural towns in New Zealand, was suffering from a marked downturn in the agricultural economy that was partly due to the loss of historical markets with the formation of European Union in 1973 and a reduction in international commodity prices (Kelsey 1995; Le Heron & Roche 1999). Consequently many farmers attempted to diversify production or sell non-viable land to ensure financial survival. Many residents from that time describe Martinborough as a '*ghost town*':

"It's finished...Martinborough was a wealthy farming outlet, but now is a pensioners' delight" (Moffit - Martinborough Oral History 1982; OH A6 24/T154).

Similarly a builder, who as a young apprentice in 1976 was employed on a partial renovation of the Club Hotel (circa 1891), told me that:

'Martinborough was so quiet and rundown all you needed to complete the picture was tumbleweed rolling down the main street... I bet the other contractors I could lie down in the middle of road around the town square for half-an-hour at midday without being run over – and I won the bet!'
(Male, early 50's, Kapiti Coast resident).

Land on Puruatanga Road, just north of the town square and where most of Martinborough's vineyards are now concentrated, was of very poor quality and unsuitable for grazing stock and was primarily used as temporary stockyards for cattle and sheep waiting to be auctioned in Martinborough or to be transported elsewhere. According to one long-time resident:

'The land where most of vineyards are now was rubbish. Very dry and stony. No grass in summer, only weeds. In fact I could have bought 44 acres there in the 1970's for about \$40,000... Wish I had now' (Male, retired, late 60's).

Today Puruatanga Road is locally referred to as the '*Golden Mile*'⁹⁹ and is home to eight wineries including the internationally renowned Ata Rangi and Dry River vineyards. In 2002 Te Kairanga bought one of the last remaining bare blocks of land on the eastern end of Martinborough's famed stony terrace – 11.25 acres on Martin Road which runs off the eastern end of Puruatanga Road – for a record sum of \$40,000 an acre. Two years previously nearby land had sold for \$27,329 per acre and for \$6,363 per acre in 1987 (The Dominion, 22 April, 2002: 12; Wairarapa Midweek, March 21, 2000: 1). In 2003 the 15 hectare Dry River vineyard (10 hectares in production) was sold to D.R.Wines Limited for a reputed \$7m (pers. comm.). D.R.Wines Limited is jointly owned by New York millionaire Julian Hart Robertson and the Oliver Family Trust, who also own a vineyard in Napa Valley, California (The Dominion Post, 20 February, 2003: A6).

Attending, but not speaking, at a Horticultural Seminar held in the Martinborough Town Hall in 1979¹⁰⁰ to discuss agriculture diversification in the region was a junior

⁹⁹ The term '*Golden Mile*' is widely used in New Zealand to describe predominantly commercial areas perceived to be highly profitable or that have a high-profile due to their business-related success, for example, Queen Street, the main street in the central business district of Auckland is also frequently referred to as the '*Golden Mile*'.

¹⁰⁰ Speakers from the Soil Bureau of the DSIR, Wairarapa Regional Development Council, Horticulture Export Development Council, Rural Bank and others spoke to local farmers about ways of diversifying production to stimulate the local rural economy. Grape growing, however, was "barely mentioned" (McIntyre 2002: 258). Des Cowie of the DSIR Soil Bureau stated that "excessively to well drained soils" (quoted in McIntyre 2002: 258) on the Martinborough terrace around the township were among the better soils in the area for horticulture, but only suitable for crops that could tolerate dry conditions in late summer and early autumn. Staff from the Department of Agriculture concluded that irrigation would be necessary for conventional horticulture (McIntyre 2002). One attendee at this seminar was Wyatt Creech,

DSIR soil scientist based in Wellington, Dr Derek Milne, founder of Waihenga Vineyard in 1979/80 (later renamed Martinborough Vineyard in 1984). Milne's combined passion for fine wine and his scientific efforts were highly influential in the development of a fully-fledged wine industry in Martinborough.¹⁰¹ Milne first developed his wine palate while an undergraduate at Victoria University in Wellington in the early 1960's. Then as a member of Danny Schuster's "serious wine tasting group" (Castelow 1998: 29) based in Stokes Valley (a suburb in the Wellington region) in 1971 he was introduced to the distinctive regionalism of international wines, which resulted in his developing a love of German and French white wines such as Gewürztraminer and Riesling: "I had never tasted anything like them – they were honeyed, beautiful tasting wines...just absolutely incredible" (Milne – Martinborough Winemakers' Oral History 1990).

German-born Danny Schuster, who also operated Avalon Wines and Spirits, is widely credited as one of the fathers of Pinot Noir in New Zealand after producing some of this country's first gold medal Pinots as a winemaker at St Helena in 1982 and after writing

who in 1979 was one of the founders of Waihenga Vineyard and who in 1984 established Omn Santi Vineyard (later renamed Palliser Estate), responded to this advice by planting potatoes (Creech - Martinborough Winemakers' Oral History 1990; McIntyre 2002).

¹⁰¹ Before late 1970's the only people who thought that Martinborough would be suitable for vineyards were individuals with some previous experience of grape-producing land. The first was reputed to be a Hungarian resident, Lou Szabo, who arrived in Martinborough after his country's uprising in 1956 and planted two rows of grapes in his quarter-acre section in New York Street. Another domestic, amateur winemaker living in Martinborough at the same time was Dusan Glisic, who was also of European extraction. These individuals were followed by the Wellington publisher, Alister Taylor, who in 1971 bought the land now occupied by Te Kairanga vineyard and established a small vineyard because it reminded him of the grape-growing areas of Marlborough that were just starting to establish a reputation for producing international quality Sauvignon Blanc. Before moving to Martinborough Alister Taylor aspired to a self-confessed middle class 'hedonistic lifestyle' and had developed a marked fondness for top quality French wines whilst at university in Wellington, a passion he later indulged as a leading member of the city's intelligentsia and a renowned, albeit provocative, publisher (McIntyre 2002: 256-257; pers. comm.).

Unfortunately for Taylor his viticultural efforts came to nothing. Initially he established a small vineyard on the river flats of his property, however the high water table resulted in vigorous vine growth but little fruit, most which was eaten by rabbits before it could be harvested. Then his efforts to move his vineyard to the river terraces (where Te Kairanga is now situated) were stymied when Taylor encountered financial difficulties and was forced to give up his property in a mortgagee sale (McIntyre 2002: 257; pers. comm.). However, later in the same decade Michael Eden, who had worked at the Mission Vineyard near Napier, planted grapes around his half-acre Martinborough township section, producing a small quantity of red wine from grapes, which he cleverly labelled Garden of Eden. Michael Eden's homemade wines were later processed at Stan Chifney's winery in the early 1980's and later that decade Eden voluntarily assisted the local marae, Hau-Ariki, to establish possibly the first commercially productive vineyard on a marae (McIntyre 2002: 282-283; pers. comm.; Martinborough Winemakers' Oral History 1990 – interview with Stan Chifney).

an influential textbook on cool-climate viticulture. Schuster is also acknowledged for introducing members of this wine-tasting group to a wide variety of international, predominantly French, German and Italian, wines and in assisting them to gain an appreciation of the influence of terroir on wine styles. Dr Milne was especially intrigued by “why certain grape varieties were planted in certain areas, and why the resulting wines were made into particular styles. It became apparent that in the Old World particular varieties had been bred to thrive in particular climates, and that depending on the exact nature of the fruit, a particular style of wine had evolved to maximize the quality of wine from that fruit” (Milne 1978: 29).

In 1977, while attending an international geology conference in Birmingham, Milne met with the President of the German Institute, who organised for him to visit the wine regions of Baden–Württemberg and Rheinpfalz in south Germany. Milne noted that many vineyards employed land specialists to systematically plot and monitor soil and climatic conditions. On his return to New Zealand he set about gathering available geological and climatic information to compare areas of New Zealand with the premier wine-producing regions in Germany and France. Milne concluded that Marlborough (where Montana, New Zealand’s largest wine company, had started planting in 1973) and Martinborough were the most favourable areas in New Zealand for wine production. He also noted that Martinborough’s climate was similar to that of Burgundy, being cool and dry, having a long growing season, and winter (as opposed to summer) rainfall. Milne thus deduced that Martinborough would favour Chardonnay, Pinot Noir, Rhine Riesling, Gewürztraminer, Pinot Gris and Muller Thürgau varieties. (McIntyre 2002; Milne 1978; Martinborough Winemakers Oral History 1990).

A scientific background and European influences were similarly influential in the wine career of Dr Neil McCallum, also a foundation member of Schuster’s wine tasting group and the founder of Dry River in Martinborough in 1979. McCallum first developed a desire to be a winemaker as a PhD student on a DSIR scholarship to Oxford University in England in the mid 1960’s, where he was the grateful recipient of some of his college’s exceptional wine cellar. Returning to New Zealand in 1970, McCallum worked for the DSIR in Wellington as a research chemist. In 1971 he was one of the foundation members of Danny Schuster’s wine-tasting group and met Dr Derek Milne through this association. In 1978 McCallum was a postdoctoral fellow at

Nottingham University and took the opportunity to visit vineyards in Germany, including the famous 1794 Deinhard (now Wegelers') Bernkasteler Doktor vineyard, and others throughout Alsace and Burgundy in France. At the same time he organised grapevine cuttings to be planted near Morrison's Bush, approximately 10km from Martinborough, but they failed to flourish due to a lack of constant care. Then on his return to New Zealand in 1979 he realised that he needed take a hands-on role in developing a vineyard and he purchased 80 acres on Puruatanga Road, planting 20 acres initially in Gewürztraminer, Sauvignon Blanc and Pinot Gris, and later then subdividing the rest of the property (Cooper 2002; McCallum – Martinborough Winemakers' Oral History 1990; McIntyre 2002).

All of Martinborough's recognised pioneer winemakers – Dr Neil McCallum, Dr Derek Milne, Clive Paton (Ata Rangi) and Stan Chifney (Chifney Wines) – were tertiary educated, urbanites who had developed a metropolitan passion for wine before embarking on their winemaking careers. All were influenced by Milne's study that equated Martinborough with Burgundy and followed his advice by planting their vineyards predominantly in Pinot Noir (Castelow 1989; Mahn 1994; Martinborough Winemakers Oral History 1990).

Stan Chifney was a laboratory technician in Upper Hutt (a satellite city/suburb of Wellington) before he established Chifney Wines. Before immigrating to New Zealand in 1972 he had travelled and worked extensively in Africa, the Middle East and in Europe where his passion for wine first developed. Chifney had been a hobbyist winemaker before buying land in Martinborough in 1980. In 1983 he built Martinborough's first winery (in which all the pioneer winemakers made their first vintages) and in 1984 released the first Martinborough wine for commercial sale. Clive Paton was raised in Tawa (a western suburb of Wellington) and completed an agricultural degree at Massey University, Palmerston North, before going share-milking in the Wairarapa. Just before establishing Ata Rangi, Paton, who had independently developed a '*love*' of red wine, was '*seriously considering*' purchasing a retail wine store in Wellington (McIntyre 2002; pers. comm.; Martinborough Winemakers' Oral History 1990 – Chifney, McCallum, Milne, Paton).

Many of the second-wave of Martinborough winemakers were also tertiary educated, often in the ‘hard’ sciences, before emigrating to Martinborough. Gary Voss of Voss Estate (c. 1988) has a BSc in Zoology and is an oenology graduate of Roseworthy College in South Australia, as is Roger Parkinson of Nga Waka (c.1988) and Bill Benfield of Benfield & Delamare (c. 1987) was a qualified and practicing architect. As might be expected given the vast capital investment required to establish a commercial vineyard, all the owners of Martinborough vineyards who employ winemakers were also successful business people and had developed their urbane wine sensibilities far away from the rural pastures of Martinborough. For example, Tom Draper, founder of Te Kairanga (c.1983) operated an earthworks contracting business. Draper was also one of the co-founders of Wellington’s foremost wine-tasting groups, the Magnum Society. Daryl and Graham Margrain, who established Margrain Vineyard (c.1996), owned a successful building construction company in Wellington. The Peabody’s, a wealthy Australian family, operated a successful waste management business before investing more than \$40mNZ in establishing three Craggy Range vineyards in New Zealand, including the 166ha planting at Te Muna (approximately 8kms south-east) in 1999, which effectively doubled the land under grape production in Martinborough:

“Craggy Range is very much a family investment for the Peabody family, made possible by the extraordinary success of Terry Peabody as a businessman. Terry is Chairman and Proprietor of Craggy Range Vineyards Ltd and he has worldwide business interests in fields much divorced from the wine business.

However, as a family they have had a very long interest in the hospitality business both in Canada and Australia, and this helped generate their interest in wine. Their investment in Craggy Range is a result of a combined family passion and enormous worldwide investigations that any successful businessman would do” (www.craggyrange.com, August 2006).

Wines of note, drinkers of distinction

Examples of winemaker adoration were frequent during my fieldwork and they were not confined to the ‘wine buffs’ described in the introduction to this chapter. Many tourists expressed a desire to establish friendly relationships with local winemakers and renowned producers of award-winning wines were especially fêted. This adulatory

enthusiasm is indicative of a New Zealand and New World ethos in which the winemaker's skills and associated production philosophies, wine palate and other values (e.g. passion) are celebrated as pivotal to the quality and taste characteristics of any wine (see Chapter 7).

The establishment of a friendly relationship with a winemaker, ideally one that was socially acknowledged was clearly a valued form of social capital. Conversations with 'wine buffs', and those I overheard amongst tourists and during middle class gatherings in Wellington, were often peppered with lionising references concerning winemakers and assertions of desire for a personal relationship with well-known winemakers. Indeed I noted that whenever I spoke about my research the most persistent question asked concerned whether I personally knew various Martinborough winemakers. These discourses were mirrored in similarly adulatory magazine and newspaper articles and it was apparent that the tourists principally desired personal relationships with Martinborough's winemakers because they were cast as exemplars of urbane, middle class distinction and as ideal reflexive individuals. Firstly, winemakers were regarded as producers and connoisseurs of a particularly urbane commodity and their lifestyles (especially in terms of associations with other social elites, refined tastes in housing etc) exemplified middle class cosmopolitanism. Secondly, winemakers were cast as ideal reflexive individuals as they were perceived to habitually express autonomy, passion, progressive development and their unique personalities in both their winemaking and domestic endeavours (see Chapter 7).

Most Martinborough tourists also appeared cognisant that the best wines were in effective 'reserved' for the best people and that accordingly the production and consumption of top-quality, expensive wines was associated with economic, social and cultural elitism, just a friendly relationship with a renowned winemaker was indicative of high social capital. Many were thus attentive to the negotiations of stratified social status that were regularly engaged through performative, leisured and differential consumption of Martinborough's wine. Differences in food and drink consumption are often employed in struggles for social distinction, indeed the entire bourgeois or middle class complex of epicurean tastes presupposes an "absolute freedom of choice" (Bourdieu 1984: 177 - see also Seymour 2004) and which accordingly emphasises

distance from the necessity of caloric consumption and a converse desire for luxury, exoticism and novelty.

In fact the consumption of wine “from the earliest of times [was] an object of intense social exchanges and conveyed a real sense of prestige. Wine can be described as a food for hierarchy and it contributes to the hierarchization of society” (Demossier 2004: 93-94 – see also Cooper 1996, 2002; Fuller 1996; Haydn 1997; Johnson 1998). From the first documented history of intentional wine production in Ancient Egypt 5000 years ago, wine has been associated with religious divinity and the best wines classified as the drink of choice for the social elite (see Appendix F). From the commercial grape plantings in Greece in 3000BC to 17th century European vineyards wine was, however, principally traded as a simple bulk commodity, blended together from various vineyards and sold in large barrels under grape and/or regional designations (e.g. Alsace, Medoc, Bordeaux). The most highly valued wine (leaving aside varietal fashions) was thus the freshest wine was as this was less likely to spoil due to oxidation. Especially sweet wines with high sugar content (e.g. Tokay) and those fortified with spirits (e.g. Madeira) were also esteemed for their natural preservative capacities and were also sold for premium prices.

In the 12th century, the distinction between peasant or common wines and those consumed by the elite of society was further demarcated when the Cistercian monks of Burgundy, whose Christian order was founded in 1112 AD, established the concept of the “cru” (Johnson 1998: 131). This concept delineated and classified “a homogeneous section of vineyard whose wines year after year proved to have a discernible identity of quality and flavour... [thus] began the process by which the name of a “climat”, a particular named vineyard, designates a certain style and value of wine” (Johnson 1998: 131). At this time Burgundy vineyards were principally supplying claret made from Noirien grapes, a forerunner of Pinot Noir,¹⁰² although the wine had fallen out of favour with the fashionable elite of northern France. The newly formed Cistercian order saw the neglected and stagnating vineyards of the Côte as a God-given challenge and set about making a careful selection of the best plants through cuttings and grafting. They

¹⁰² Pinot Noir is a superior form of Noirien selected and named by Phillipe the Bold in the late 13th century, most probably in reference to its small, tight bunches resembling a pine cone (Robinson 1999: 491).

also experimented with pruning and refined their winemaking techniques based on painstaking tastings for quality and differences in colour, body, vigour etc of wines made in small batches from separate plots. They also compared their results with samples of tithe wines and began to form a complex understanding of the types of wine that could be consistently produced in different parts of the Côte. For example, some areas produced more aromatic wines, which are robust and rough and which needed early picking as they suffered most from frost. They mapped this information and built walls around fields that regularly produced wines with a discernable flavour. Eventually the Côte d'Or was divided into hundreds of separate "climats" and further into different "clos" (Johnson 1998: 132) – which means an enclosure of vines under one ownership established by various monasteries such as the Cistercian nuns of Notre Dame de Tart at Genlis and their Clos de Tart at Morey (Johnson 1998: 132).

In the 17th-18th century Dom Pierre Perignon, a Benedictine monk from the Abbey at Hautvillers which overlooked the River Marne in Champagne, France, created codified rules of viniculture and viticultural dedicated to the production of top quality wine (see Appendix F). Around the same time Arnaud de Pontac, the first president of the Bordeaux regional parliament, established the custom of naming individual vineyards. He consequently created vineyard or chateau specific wines when in 1660 he sold the first Bordeaux wine, Haut-Brion, under the name of the estate where it was produced and thus provided the "prototype of every chateau wine from that day to this"¹⁰³(Johnson 1998: 201). With his considerable wealth Arnaud de Pontac could afford to be a perfectionist. He rejected mouldy grapes and unsuccessful barrels, used small amounts of press-wine to give his claret more colour and character and he used new barrels, keeping them topped up to the bung to prevent spoiling from oxidation (see Appendix F). While all these practices were standard by the 18th century, in de Pontac's time they were rare or non-existent:

"Although it was certainly unusual to have a large block of specialised vineyard, the best conclusion seems to be that Arnaud's real innovation was marketing. He made Haut-Brion his "first-growth"; then like the other

¹⁰³ Arnaud de Pontac's initiative continues to be widespread practice in France and elsewhere with individual châteaux's or estates being identified as the source of wine, and with both being named after either the surname of their founders (e.g. *Ch Lafite-Rothschild*) or after their geographical locations (e.g. *Ch Margaux*).

prince of the vine three centuries later, Phillippe de Rothschild, he lent his family name [Pontac] to the wine of his other properties” (Johnson 1998: 202).

These initiatives, together with the increasing sale of wine as a singular commodity (i.e. sold in glass bottles)¹⁰⁴ and Arnaud de Pontac’s other influential innovation in establishing the first tavern in London, propelled wine toward being an evermore nuanced marker of social distinction (see below).

By the time of the European colonisation of the New World wine was characteristically associated with, and highly valued by, the educated upper classes (see Appendix F). Ralph Waldo Emerson, the great American poet, author of the influential *Nature* (1832) and renowned transcendentalist philosopher once wrote: “I think wealth has lost much of its value if it has not wine. I abstain from wine only on account of the expense. When I heard Mr. Sturgis had given up wine, I had the same regret that I had lately in hearing that Mr. Bowditch had broken his hip” (Emerson quoted in Fuller 1996: 13). The appreciative consumption of wine required economic wealth; an accumulated understanding of the specific characteristics of different grape varietals, vintages, terroir, production techniques etc; a comparative palate memory; and a knowledge of French language and geography. The consumption of high quality wine was therefore regarded as a particularly civilised (and civilising) endeavour and comparing tasting notes was a frequent topic of recreational conversation amongst the elite (predominantly male) colonists. Moreover, wine consumption was regarded to be conducive to collegial and erudite ruminations on other matters of importance such as politics and theology (Fuller 1996).

¹⁰⁴ Until the 17th century glass bottles were principally made and used to transport wine from the barrel to the table. They varied considerably – from leather ‘jacks’ through to stoneware jugs and elegant flagons of clear glass. However, some time in the 1630’s in Gloucestershire, England, Sir Kenelem Digby – “*the father of the modern wine bottle*”(Johnson 1998: 194) – started making bottles that were thicker, heavier, stronger, darker and most importantly, cheaper than before. This, combined with the use of oxidation-resistant cork stoppers in the mid 17th century, the invention of the corkscrew in about 1681, and the subsequent realisation that laying wine bottles on the side further reduced oxidation, revolutionized wine transportation, storage and trade (Johnson 1998: 191-198).

A brief history of wine in New Zealand

The history of wine in North America (see Appendix F) largely mirrors the situation in New Zealand. The first to record the planting of grapevines in New Zealand was Anglican missionary Samuel Marsden at his mission in Kerikeri in 1819 (Cooper 2002; Thorpy 1971). Marsden believed that local Maori could be civilised through being taught European agriculture and handicrafts. In 1819 he reported that he was “much gratified with the progress that had been made. A number of seeds had been sown in the garden which had been brought from England to Port Jackson and were up. The vines were many of them in leaf.” (Marsden quoted in Thorpy 1971: 23). In 1835 Charles Darwin, on board the HMS Beagle which landed at Kerikeri, reported that the “grapes were flourishing a few miles inland at Waimate North and were being tended by the Maoris (sic) attached to the Mission” (Darwin quoted in Thorpy 1971: 23).

Marsden’s efforts were soon surpassed by James Busby, who was appointed British Resident in 1832 and planted a small vineyard at Waitangi in the Bay of Islands in 1836. Busby was a Scotsman who had studied viticulture in France and was widely regarded as the founder of Australian viticulture after his residence in Sydney from 1824 to 1831. Dumont d’Urville visited Busby in 1840 and noted “a trellis on which several vines were growing... with great pleasure I agreed to taste the product of the vineyard that I had just seen. I was given a light white wine, very sparkling, and delicious to taste, which I enjoyed very much” (d’Urville quoted in Cooper 2002: 12).

The first commercial vineyard (7 acres) was planted in 1863 by an English coppersmith, Charles Levet, on an inlet of the Kaipara Harbour near Auckland. Even though winemaking was an “extremely precarious pursuit in nineteenth-century New Zealand” (Cooper 2002: 12) Levet’s vineyard was financially viable for more than four decades. However, various factors such as a predominantly British-born settler population that mostly lacked a viticultural ethos and the constant problem of odium (a powdery mildew that splits grape-skins) combined to ensure that the local wine industry remained comparatively minor. Consequently most of the wine consumed in early settler New Zealand was imported at considerable expense from Europe and wine was therefore widely perceived of as an elite drink not to be consumed by the working class. In addition, the temperance movement (the New Zealand Temperance Society

was founded in 1836) was successful in securing restrictive liquor legislation between 1881 and 1918 and this further retarded the wine industry's development (Cooper 2002; Haydn 1997). By the 1930's the health of the country's vineyards was declining and many of the classic *Vinifera*¹⁰⁵ vines were weakened by viruses and infestations such as phylloxera.¹⁰⁶ Growers consequently turned to disease-resistant Franco-American hybrids or to the extraordinarily heavy-bearing Albany Surprise, with the result that wines produced were "at best coarse and at worst undrinkable" (Cooper 2002: 15). In 1940's New Zealand the demand for wine further soared as American servicemen on leave flooded into the country. Unfortunately the quality of domestic wines was compromised further as many growers made up for the lack of supply by fortifying their wines with sugar and water.

Although many individuals in early settler societies viewed wine as a luxury beyond their means, in the classic Bourdieuan mode of social emulation the desire for, and appreciation of, wine progressively gained a foothold amongst the emerging middle classes (especially educated professionals such as doctors and lawyers). The economic costs of importing French wines decreased with improved transportation systems and the more favourable economies of scale provided by the increased size of settler markets. The establishment of domestic wine industries, a marked increase in the standard of living in late settler societies, and the exposure to European wine cultures among groups such as Allied soldiers fighting in the World Wars, all contributed to the establishment of both elite wine dispositions and the more popular cask wine, or '*chateau cardboard*', sensibilities in societies such as New Zealand, Australia and North America (Fuller 1996; Johnson 1998; Cooper 2002). In fact the migration of Italians, Yugoslavs and Greeks to New Zealand after WWII bought thousands of appreciative wine drinkers to New Zealand and their numbers were bolstered by the subsequent overseas travel boom of countless New Zealanders who were exposed to the cultivated European enthusiasm for wine (Cooper 2002; Hadyn 1997).

¹⁰⁵ *Vinifera* grapes are the European species of *Vitis*, which is the vine most often used for wine production (Robinson 1999:756).

¹⁰⁶ The first record of phylloxera was in England in 1863. The phylloxera louse was an unwelcome import from the East coast of America and in the 1860's decimated French vineyards where almost 2.5million ha of vineyards were destroyed. The louse destroys the roots of non-resistant vines. Winemakers through Europe and elsewhere have attempted to resist the devastating effects of phylloxera by grafting classic *Vinifera* vines on to naturally resistant American root stock. The first record of phylloxera in New Zealand dates back to 1885 (Robinson 1999: 525-527).

The first Wine and Food Society, dedicated to gourmet eating and drinking, was established in Auckland in 1954, with Alan Corban of Corban Wines and Dudley Russell of Western Vineyards amongst its inaugural officers (Cooper 2002: 19 – see also Haydn 1997). It wasn't until 1960 that restaurants were granted licences to sell wine and consequently the consumption of fine wine imported from France and elsewhere in Europe largely remained the preserve of the socio-economic elite and wine enthusiasts. In fact up to about thirty years ago the most popular alcoholic beverage in New Zealand was beer:

“Aotearoa might have been translated “land of the long white froth”. Officially and unofficially, beer was best: the beverage of the common man, the heart of working life. Wine inhabited a twilight world. Student types, intellectuals and foreigners might stash a bottle of Bakano (McWilliam's first dry red wine) under the arm as headed for a party, but they weren't straight living people...[however] by the early 1970's, wine drinking was becoming one of the social attributes of the urban well-to-do... At the same time, a steadily rising standard of living for the bulk of the population brought wine within the reach of meat-and-three vege families” (Haydn 1997: 25-26).

Nevertheless, middle class demand for good wine continued to strengthen and by the late 1980's wine produced in New Zealand began to approach international standards for quality wine. The introduction of the 1983 Food and Drug Regulations, which prohibited flavoured wines and stipulated that 95% grape juice was required in all table wine, reflected a new ethos dedicated to the production of good quality wine (Cooper 2002). Around the same time winemakers in Marlborough in the South Island received global recognition for producing top-quality Sauvignon Blanc (a Bordeaux white) after Cloudy Bay's 1985 vintage “sent a ripple through the international wine world” (Cooper 2002: 214). Today wine consumption is a pervasive leisure activity in New Zealand. In 2006 wine accounted for 20% or nearly 94 million litres of the total alcohol available for consumption in New Zealand, with beer accounting for 67% or 310 million litres and spirits (with more than 23% alcohol) and spirit-based drinks (with less than 23% alcohol content) for only 13% or 50 million litres. This compares, however, to 1946 when beer accounted for 97% and to 1986 when there were 395 million litres

of beer, 40 million litres of wine and 8 million litres of spirits/spirit-based drinks (www.stats.govt.nz, November 2007).

While the total amount of alcohol available for consumption in New Zealand has remained fairly static since 1986, alcohol consumption in France has decreased “by a remarkable 25 percent between 1970 and 1990” (Demossier 2005: 133). During this time, however, there has been greater emphasis in France, New Zealand and elsewhere on the production of better and more consistent quality wines throughout different price bands. This has been principally led by New World wines, which although more varietal than French wines (i.e. more expressive of grape variety rather than of terroir or geographical provenance), are consistent in quality and therefore are less likely to offer marked vintage variation (Robinson 1999: 482-483). In France there has been, also in response to the commercial threat posed by New World wines, a greater diversification of the range of wines offered to the consumer, even though there has been a marked “concentration of the major companies in the wine sector” (Demossier 2005: 134). Likewise in New Zealand, especially since the 1970’s, the number of productive vineyards, the range of wines offered for domestic consumption and the quality of wines generally has also markedly increased (see Introduction). Moreover the licensing laws have gradually liberalised so that eating and drinking ‘out’ in bars, restaurants, and at festival events has become a popular leisure activity.¹⁰⁷

Clearly wine has evolved into a transnational, cosmopolitan commodity (Anderson 2004; Johnson 1998; Robinson 1999; Unwin 1991) that is consumed by many for the hedonistic pleasures of taste and sociability. As wine is increasingly characterised by a broader range of offerings, which are of evermore consistent (and many would claim comparatively better) quality, its consumption has increasingly become a universal marker of middle class distinction. What's more the innate nuance and variation of wine production has been readily appropriated within the consumption idioms of fashion,

¹⁰⁷ The liquor laws were further liberalised in New Zealand with the passing of the Sale of Liquor Act 1989 (in force in 1990), which removed controls on the density of alcohol outlets, enabled bars to open 24 hours a day and allowed supermarkets and dairies to also sell alcohol. Consequently the number of retail outlets selling liquor has increased from 6275 to 14,494 in 2006 (Ministry of Health 2001; NZ Herald May 26, 2006- <http://subs.nzherald.co.nz>). In addition the number of restaurants, cafés, coffee houses and caterers in New Zealand rose from 5367 to 6850 in 3 years from 2002. The food-service industry (which also includes takeaways, lunch bars, ice-cream parlours) generated \$2.3b in national sales in 1996 – increasing to \$4b in 2005 (Restaurant Association of New Zealand 2005).

novelty and trendsetting, the constructive engagement of which also denotes middle class distinction.

Ephemeral wine consumption

Wine, like much organic matter, has difference or variation at the core of its (pre-cultural) materiality (Bateson 1979; Miller 1987). For instance, as grapevines respond to seasonal fluctuations in climatic conditions, or as vines age over time and send their roots further down into different soil substrata, the grape juice and ultimately the wine produced will inevitably vary from vintage to vintage. In fact the fermentation of grapes into wine, that is the change of essentially solid fruit into liquid form, is a natural phenomenon that does not necessarily require human intervention.¹⁰⁸ Thus the collection of wine in sufficiently drinkable quantities simply requires the minimal cultural intervention of amassing ripened grapes in a water-tight receptacle:

“Wine did not have to be invented: it was there, wherever grapes were gathered and stored, even briefly, in a container that would hold their juice... It would be strange if the accident of wine never happened to primitive (sic) nomadic man” (Johnson 1998: 16).

The innate capacity of wine to vary between seasons, across clones, via different production techniques or indeed after years of cellaring has been celebrated throughout recorded history (see Appendix F):

“Even at its’ most primitive (perhaps especially at its’ most primitive) wine is subject to enormous variations – most of them, to start with, unlooked for. Climate is the first determining factor; then weather. The competence of the winemaker comes next; then the selection of the grape. Underlying these variables is the composition of the soil (cold and damp, or warm and dry) and its situation – flat or hilly, sunny or shaded. Almost as important as any of these is the expectation of the market: what the drinker demands, is ultimately what the producer will produce” (Johnson 1998: 12).

¹⁰⁸ Grapes will spontaneously ferment whenever wild or ambient (naturally occurring) yeast, which is typically spread by fruit flies, metabolises as the fruit heats up - either through being ripened in the summer heat or by the cultural intervention of storage in a container. The anaerobic (oxygen free) metabolism of the yeast converts the grapes’ sugars into ethanol (ethyl alcohol) and carbon dioxide. Fermentation comes from the Latin *fervere* – to boil (Webb in Robinson 1999: 272-273; 785).

Recognition and valuation of any form of natural or material variation is always socially and culturally mediated, and the subtle variations perceived between vintages, vineyards, wine regions and also winemakers were common topics of conversation amongst Martinborough's tourists. The tourists' anticipation and celebration of wine variability resulting from, or at least attributed to, often subtle differences in vintages, vineyard location, winemaking techniques etc largely reflects their middle class desire for commodity ephemerality (Appadurai 1996: 83-84) or fashionable change over time (McCracken 1990: 18-20). A message displayed on the spare wheel cover on one of the tourist's four-wheel drive vehicles neatly summarised this ethos: "Success demands difference".

Some wine connoisseurs maintain that every bottle of wine, even those of the sourced from the same varietal, vintage and vineyard, indeed from the first to the last sip from the same bottle, will be different and thus reflect divergences in cellaring, single bottle oxidation, external temperatures when pouring etc (Allen 1930). Many tourists were cognisant of these dynamic variations and one told me that he had never been able to replicate the awesome '*buzz*' he had experienced from his first taste of a Dry River Pinot Noir, even though he had thoroughly enjoyed many bottles since. Other tourists (including self-proclaimed wine buffs) told me that even poor quality wines can taste '*alright*' when consumed at celebratory occasions. Wine is therefore a proto-distinctive phenomenon, which is primarily valued by middle class consumers for its' consistent variation in taste, quality, production techniques/winemakers, quantity (especially rarity and the consequential social exclusiveness of supply) and the contexts of its' consumption. Martinborough winemakers often exaggerated these differences by overtly highlighting distinctions between wines via various branding, marketing and promotional mechanisms, of which the personalisation or biographisation of winemakers was a significant factor (see Chapter 7).

Labelling wine by year of vintage clearly signifies that it is a commodity that is regarded as inherently ephemeral and nostalgic. Vintage classifications therefore express a specific moment in time and subsequently also highlight its loss. A vintage is a moment of time that may never be replicated or recaptured and thus the best one can hope is that the next vintage will be as good or even better. Wine that is cellared in intentional acts of delayed (sometimes completely absented) consumption only serves

to enhance this discourse by attempting to suspend, or at least re-enact, this loss of time. Most Martinborough vineyards maintained a cellar that contained vertical collections¹⁰⁹ of their vintages, which were tasted annually to evaluate how the wines were evolving in the bottle. Even when embedded within a static framework of historical recording (i.e. as a representative of a past vintage), wine was nevertheless still being assessed and principally valued for its ephemeral capacities and potentialities.

Wine is therefore a product in which the “nostalgia for the present” (Appadurai 1996: 77) is widely perceived to be embedded in its very nature. Accordingly, changes in consumer fashions or tastes for wine are frequently deemed to be natural or authentic. In addition, given that the quantity of wine from a single vintage is always finite, scarcity or the permanent loss of specific wines is an omnipresent possibility (simultaneously mitigated by the calculated cellaring of good wines and highlighted by their increasing value over time). Many tourists engaged this ethos of incessant variability of taste and limited quantity by visiting Martinborough’s vineyards on an annual basis to sample and evaluate wines from the most recent vintage. Tourists would also often discuss wines they had previously consumed and compare these with current vintages. Some lamented the fact they consumed all of their stock of a ‘*great*’ past vintage and that their attempts to restock were fruitless as the specific vintage had ‘*sold out*’. Many others simply remembered enjoyable occasions whilst holidaying in Martinborough, such as picnicking at a local vineyard or dining at a local restaurant, in which recollections of the wine consumed principally acted as metonymic reminder of past ‘*good times*’.

Wine nostalgia amongst Martinborough’s tourists was, however, counterbalanced by the widespread expectation that future vintages would be of substantially better quality. This progressive ethos distinguishes and celebrates New World wines over their Old World equivalents and further articulates a core ideal of reflexive individualism in

¹⁰⁹ Some Martinborough vineyards also maintained wine libraries in which past vintages were archived for prosperity’s sake and consumption at any time is accordingly prohibited. Some wine collectors intentionally purchase rare or extraordinary wines that they have little or no intention of consuming, seemingly motivated by the “thrill [that] lies in acquisition” (Robinson 1999: 189) or by the large profits that may be made by judiciously trading such wines in the global brokerage markets.

terms of the progressive evolution of winemakers' skills and their wines over time. As the tourists' construction of a wine vintage is fundamentally of a distinct product that is not replicable in either time or space, their progressive outlook also reflects a nostalgia for the future as it necessarily compels an anticipation that novel and better memories will be created by fine Martinborough wines that have yet to be produced. The vintage classification of wine, the dialogic amalgam of past, present and future vintages, therefore represents an anticipatory or forthcoming ethos of eventual good times.

Performative wine

Over time, and in places diverse as France, North America, Britain and New Zealand, the rationales for food and alcohol consumption have increasingly centred on what was previously the near-exclusive bourgeois pursuit of pleasure (Bourdieu 1984). In addition, an emphasis has been placed on alcohol's and especially wines apparent capacity to enrich sociability, and for its consumption to signify intricate social and reflexive distinctions. For example, in France wine drinking has been progressively detached from its historical association with eating in the home and has evolved as a public spectacle that is pursued in bars, cafés, wine festivals and often to mark festive occasions (e.g. to celebrate birthdays). As wine has been increasingly consumed in response to perceived variations in taste and quality, its conspicuous consumption has become a field of action where social distinctions are routinely negotiated:

“By shifting from an integrated element of diet into an intrinsically hedonistic food, it [wine] has gained a highly complex set of meanings. Attached to these new representations, wine tasting has also become an *affaire de gouts*, or a place of discernment, hierarchy and power.... Good wine and the culture attached to it has become a symbol of middle class lifestyle, and more so than food its consumption acts a social marker or sign of belonging to a dominant social class” (Demossier 2005: 131 & 133).

A performative component of wine consumption and social distinction display was commonplace amongst Martinborough's tourists. For example, wine bottles purchased by individuals dining at the Martinborough Hotel or in the sidewalk café's were typically situated on tables and thus visible to other consumers. Diners were also routinely given wine menus that listed an establishment's offerings of wines by variety and price. Table displays of wine, in conjunction with individual and often group

readings of wine lists, thus constituted a performative setting in which wine purchases could be comparatively assessed especially in terms of financial expense and quality. Conversations amongst companion diners, and sometimes between fellow tourists patronising the same establishment, frequently focused on the quality, range and cost of wines on offer, and often also included declarations about individuals' wine purchases that ranged from the adulatory to the envious. Moreover, the purchase of particularly fine or expensive wine was typically commented on favourably by attendant maître d's or waiters. Individuals who '*shouted*' (i.e. gifted) an expensive, top quality wine characteristically received admiring and grateful comments from their companion diners and they were often the subject of envious or adulatory 'gossip' by diners at other tables. Many of the conversations I overheard between tourists, and especially wine enthusiasts, in local cafés, on vineyards and when working in the wine shop were littered with nostalgic remembrances of fine wines they had previously consumed. Often such discourses evolved into comparative narratives, in which individuals would competitively lay claim to consuming the finest wine and thus by association to also possessing the highest social status.

Increased opportunities for restaurant and café dining dialogically reflect and create the middle class attraction to performative sites of conspicuous consumption. The transformation to conspicuous modes of consumption has resulted in the democratisation of dining out, in which eating and drinking has largely evolved into "gastro-anomie" (Fischler 1990 – quoted in Demossier 2005: 132). Perceived traditional and modern practices are thus dynamically combined, while the norms or rules of consumption are now continually subject to contestment, negotiation and change. Consequently novel and persistently contested strategies of social differentiation are also foregrounded. In addition, individuals increasingly distinguish themselves via their niche consumption of finely differentiated products and within a dialogic nexus of reflexive and social distinctions (Demossier 2005; Rouse 1995). Individuals are therefore more likely to personally assert that 'I prefer Central Otago over Martinborough pinot' or 'I prefer Dry River to Martinborough Vineyard pinot', rather than to simply identify themselves as a wine drinker in contrast to a beer drinker.

In France these changes have resulted in the emergence of two distinct types of wine consumers, the connoisseur and the wandering drinker:

“The connoisseur is defined as the classic example of the educated drinker for whom wine culture is more than drinking wine, while the wandering drinker might be defined as the average wine drinker who knows little about it and is experiencing *vin-anomie*, in a social world of wine with too many norms and rules that make some people confused and anxious.” (Demossier 2005: 132 – emphasis in original).

The situation I encountered among Martinborough’s tourists was somewhat different. Only a few tourists were socially acknowledged as connoisseurs and were thus credited with possessing an ‘*educated palate*’ (i.e. substantial experience in consuming and critically comparing wines of different variety and quality). Many tourists were acknowledged or claimed that they were ‘*knowledgeable*’ about quality and taste variations, although such expertise was often gleaned from reading reviews by wine critics and not necessarily from personal tastings. Connoisseurs by virtue of extensive, critically engaged experience (typically wine critics, wine merchants, wine makers or particularly devoted hobbyists as often found amongst the membership of wine tasting clubs) were regarded as superior to ‘*knowledgeable*’ wine drinkers, who would typically defer to their superior wine praxis in discussions about wine quality and taste characteristics. The ‘*knowledgeable*’ drinker was effectively classified as an enthusiast who through either a lack of financial resources or a dearth of actual consumption opportunities (e.g. at beginning of their ‘*wine career*’) was restricted in, yet desirous of, the experience of drinking a wide range of wines.

A significant number of tourists were either novices, had little experience or were only ‘*mildly interested*’ in critical/ comparative or connoisseur-like consumption of wine. Most were cognisant that wine hierarchies existed, although many were not actively mindful of the characteristics attributed to different varieties of ‘*fine wine*’ or of which specific wines (varietal or vineyard specific) had been accorded top status either historically or contemporaneously. For these tourists the frequent consumption of ‘*fine wines*’ was either typically outside their personal finances and many preferred to drink ‘*anything as long it tastes good*’. A significant number said they did, however, follow the recommendations of knowledgeable others such as wine reviewers, vineyard wine shop hosts, wine awards or well-informed friends, but were not particularly motivated by this knowledge to the degree that it significantly influenced their normative

consumption patterns. Thus they were most likely to drink affordable ‘*good wine*’ on an everyday basis and reserved their consumption of expensive fine wines for ‘*special occasions*’ such as celebrations of birthdays, job promotions etc.

All types of wine drinkers, however, displayed a marked “*wandering drinker*” (Demossier 2005: 132) ethos and were strongly motivated to consume novel wines (i.e. from previously ‘*unknown*’ vineyards, produced by little-known winemakers or unusual varieties of wines). This was done, in part, to broaden their wine experience, but also in the hope of finding a previously ‘*undiscovered*’ top-quality wine (see Chapter 7). Unlike the stereotypical French connoisseur, Martinborough’s tourists were not bound to appellation-determined notions of Grand Cru or First-growth quality and were particularly willing to sample wines from places such as Chile, Argentina and from different localities of New Zealand that are beyond the regions recognised as premium wine growing areas. Accordingly consensus on which wines (and wine regions, vineyards, winemakers etc) were to be granted top-quality status was continually open to negotiation and contestment. Furthermore, the wandering wine consumption of Martinborough’s tourists reflects the New World ethos of experimentation and ‘*cult of the winemaker*’ (see Chapter 6) and is a manifestation of reflexive individuality in which personal choice, tastes and experiences are socially affirmed and celebrated (see Chapter 7).

Reflexive wine

The ‘*cult of the winemaker*’ also represents a significant element in the celebrated personalisation and reflexivity of wine that was dialogically constructed by Martinborough’s tourists and winemakers. Characteristics that were typically attributed to Martinborough’s winemakers, such as being innovative, progressive, passionate and constructively experimental or risk-taking, largely mirror those ascribed to the ideal reflexive individual. Attributes such as innovativeness and progressiveness were also attributed to New World and New Zealand wine production in general. As the ideals of reflexive individualism were habitually assigned to winemakers, to their lifestyles, and to the wines they produce, a personal association (such as friendship or even an intimate producer-client relationship) with a renowned oenologist, or even simply purchasing or consuming the wine in-situ, can function as a source of valued social capital and hence reflexive distinction.

The idealisation of winemakers, winemaking and wine as a product, also significantly parallels the ideal reflexive individuality that tourists performatively pursued within their construction of Martinborough as a metro-rural idyll. At the point of purchase, ideal reflexive individuality was made manifest via the conspicuous enactment of personal choice. In Martinborough's restaurants, cafés, homestays and other performative settings the conspicuous consumption of '*good wine*' clearly denoted the attainment of middle class cultural and/or economic capitals of urbanity; while affably sharing wine with reflexive intimates signified the achievement of highly valued social intimacy.

The consumption of wine was in general regarded as possessing an innate potential to enhance sociability: "There are few things in life sweeter than friendship and countless friends owe a lifelong attachment to the good fellowship of wine" (Allen 1932: 38 – see also Fuller 1996; Demossier 2005; Johnson 1998). In fact the tourists' discourses in the company of reflexive intimates, other than discussing the perceived merits of the wine being consumed, typically revolved around nostalgically recalling, or arranging future, social occasions. Tourists also typically articulated reflexive narratives about their (and their intimate others' – e.g. children, spouse, romantic partner etc) life experiences or plans for the future (e.g. house renovation; anticipated holidays etc - see Introduction; Abramovici 2002). Leisured wine consumption was therefore often central to the tourists' aspirations and practices of reflexive sociality.

Singular, context variable and ersatz wine consumption

In ways similar to Martinborough tourists' capacity to episodically and abstractedly consume the metro-rural, many also conspicuously indulged in singular, sporadic or ersatz performances of wine consumption. In contemporary societies such as New Zealand most wine is bought by consumers in the form of singular bottles or by the glass, this being the manner in which wine is typically sold in public domains such as restaurants, bars, alcohol retailers and supermarkets. This singular mode of consumption provides opportunities for persons of limited financial means to indulge in performative displays of economic capital that are associated with the consumption of expensive wine. The comparatively inexpensive procurement of a single glass or bottle of fine wine, in combination with seeking the advice of a knowledgeable maître d', by

consulting an establishment's tasting notes or price lists for wine, or by reading wine reviews, can also enable novice wine drinkers to display the cultural capital of appreciative wine consumption. Many tourists I encountered consuming top-quality Martinborough wines revealed that they were not previously aware of what constituted a '*fine wine*', but were guided in the selection by a wine waiter or the tasting notes and prices listed on wine menus. The pricing of wines in restaurant menus often guided tourists' choices, based on the simple assumption that better wines are more expensive than lesser quality wines.

As noted, the innovation of producing and selling wine as a singular commodity did not occur until Arnaud de Pontac's innovations in the 17th century. During this time Bordeaux wine makers were faced with competition from new alcoholic drinks such as Dutch gin and German brandy. Nevertheless de Pontac established a successful presence in the London market with his two Bordeaux, chateau-specific wines, Haut-Brion and Pontac. Then in 1666, the year in which the Great Fire laid waste to 400 acres of London and one year after the Black Plague that had killed 70–100,000 of its inhabitants, de Pontac opened a luxurious tavern, the Pontack's Head, just behind the Old Bailey. Possibly London's first restaurant, its prices were extremely high, Haut-Brion sold for seven shillings a bottle, compared with the standard two shillings for a good wine, and the tavern catered to the city's aristocracy and fashionable men of letters. Pontack's Head remained in business until 1780 when it was demolished (Johnson 1998: 203). Arnaud de Pontac was therefore not only responsible for establishing vineyard-specific wines (in both terms of geography and quality), but his pioneering initiative in selling singular bottles of good quality, expensive wine in the Pontack's Head was also at the forefront of establishing the conspicuous and performative settings in which stratified social distinctions are contemporaneously negotiated.

The reflexive, singular commodification and democratisation of wine (see below) can also assist individuals to engage in intentionally ersatz displays of elite economic and cultural capital. Of course it was almost impossible for me to verify whether individual tourists were participating in counterfeit performances. Indeed such verification would involve multi-sited evaluation of an individual's consumption habits, not to mention critical analysis of their personal stocks of cultural and financial capital. Nevertheless

on numerous occasions tourists confessed to me that they would not typically purchase or consume such '*expensive wines*', but that whilst holidaying in Martinborough they were taking the opportunity to treat themselves '*to something special*'. In fact several tourists admitted to purchasing expensive wines, often on the recommendation of wine waiters or restaurant menus and without personal knowledge of quality wines, simply to impress their travelling companions. I also unintentionally became involved in a counterfeit performance of wine connoisseurship when I revealed to an interested group of middle class friends in Wellington that I had once consumed a Grand Cru Burgundy and that in my opinion Martinborough's equivalent Pinot Noirs were significantly inferior in quality. I was immediately made aware that my companions had never tasted a Grand Cru Burgundy and accordingly they readily deferred to my superior knowledge and assessment of Martinborough's offerings. What I had failed to mention was, however, that my Grand Cru tasting was limited to a thimbleful at a comparative wine tasting hosted by Larry McKenna of Martinborough Wines (now of Escarpment). Furthermore the opinion I offered was simply a repetition of this renowned winemaker's. I was thus directly made aware of the symbolic value of Grand Cru Burgundy and the cultural capital accorded to wine connoisseurship, which "has the power for identifying fine people as well as fine wines" (Douglas 1987:9). Now I intentionally indulge in similar ersatz performances as a means of assessing my drinking companions' wine expertise:

"Connoisseurship has power for identifying the person as well as the wine. Not knowing may deliver one into the hands of manipulators. Connoisseurship... has its own powers of social domination" (Douglas 1987: 9).

The democratisation of wine and reflexive distinction

The emergence of New World wines as serious players in international wine markets has corresponded with the widespread democratisation of wine culture in which a plethora of experts, journals, guide-books, magazine and newspaper articles, websites¹¹⁰ etc attempt to demystify production and consumption and are accordingly

¹¹⁰ For example, the "Cuisine Wine Annual" by Bob Campbell, a Master of Wine based in Auckland, in which wines are rated on 5-star system; "How to drink a glass of wine" a book by John Saker (2005); www.wineoftheweek.com – a webzine that promotes New Zealand Wine Clubs (e.g. Federation of Wine and Food Societies of New Zealand and the Cellarmasters Wine Club) and offers advice on 'quality wines', restaurants etc and features articles on 'wine personalities' (usually winemakers).

deployed by many consumers to guide their wine selections (Demossier 2001; Robinson 1999). Supermarkets in New Zealand typically have dedicated wine sections, with tasting notes and rating schemes displayed alongside of the wines. New World producers have also adopted varietal labelling (as opposed to vineyard or regional labelling as in France) and introduced gradated wines that can be sourced from the same producer (e.g. Villa Maria's five distinct ranges in descending order: Single Vineyard, Reserve, Cellar Selection, Private Bin, Riverstone). Such initiatives have significantly contributed to the "decline of a traditional and private culture of wine" (Demossier 2001: 4) that was historically the preserve of the elite and in its place a highly fragmented wine culture in terms of price, quality and choice has emerged.

Consequently the links between family origins, educational background and socially distinctive food tastes as in noted in France (Bourdieu 1984), in which wine connoisseurship might be expected to be most customarily found amongst the economic-educational elite, was not necessarily the case amongst Martinborough's tourists (see Chapter 8). For example, I encountered tourists of working class backgrounds and with little formal schooling who had nevertheless acquired the economic and cultural capital necessary for them to appreciatively consume fine wine on a regular basis. Conversely, I met others with substantial affluence who kept cellars of truly ordinary, and in many instances very poor quality, wines. In addition many tourists said they were not markedly inclined to purchase expensive, top-quality, preferring instead to 'enjoy' good, mid-range wines on a regular basis. Nevertheless, amongst the majority of tourists there was a general understanding that Martinborough wines were typically of high-quality and expensive in the New Zealand context. Accordingly there was a pervasive notion that consuming Martinborough wines was a mark of economic affluence, gastronomic refinement and an evident signification of middle class distinction.

Although Martinborough's tourists generally agreed that an appreciative or economic capacity to enjoy *'fine wines'* was a mark of high social status and accordingly functioned as a stratifying mechanism, the variations in the expectations and motivations of wine consumers, and in their adherence to the idealisation of the New

World/ French tradition narratives, demonstrated that the value placed on wine consumption was both context-specific and routinely subjected to reflexive interpretation. For example, many people assumed that as I was as an anthropologist researching Martinborough's wine culture I was necessarily a wine connoisseur. Thus I am often asked by friends, family and academic acquaintances to select wine to accompany a restaurant meal, or my opinions on what to purchase were quickly deferred to. In some circumstances I have been taken aside by the host of a barbeque or party to share in an exclusive tasting of their best wines. When in the company of winemakers and others involved in the wine industry, however, the opposite is often assumed and that I as a social scientist do not possess an educated wine palate.

In a similar vein, I have observed hosts of dinner parties intentionally calculate what wines to serve based on whom they expected to attend. Often such selections were made on the basis of knowing that a particular individual did not drink red or white wine, although it was frequently based on whether the host wished to impress an attendee who might have a *'nose for a good wine'* or who was in high-status position (e.g. a boss or a well-to-do friend). On other occasions I observed individuals, whom I knew did not possess a well-developed knowledge of wine and/or the financial resources to customarily afford top-quality wines essentially *'splash-out'* on an expensive wine to celebrate a particularly momentous event in their lives. Typically they had taken advice from a wine merchant or retailer on which wines were considered *'best'* or simply purchased the most expensive. At the same gatherings I have also had conversations with knowledgeable wine drinkers who were particularly unflattering about the quality of wine served by their host and sometimes of their host's gullibility in simply purchasing the most costly wines. I have also attended social occasions where it was understood by both host and the majority of guests attending that they would be served the *'best wines'*, this being the normative performance of the host based on either their acknowledged connoisseurship or financial wherewithal. However, even in such circumstances opinions were often divided over the relative merits of the wines served.

I have also shared wine with people who possessed a reasonable knowledge of top-quality wines but whose current financial circumstances excluded such purchases. Often they would acknowledge, then apologise, for the lesser quality wine they were

about serve. Indeed when working in the wine shop I regularly encountered tourists who, although seeking ‘expert’ advice on the ‘best’ wines produced under the vineyard’s label, would upon sampling the wines offered declare a preference for a widely acknowledged lesser-quality wine. Most often this was done on the basis that the lesser wine appealed to their ‘personal tastes’ and accordingly they found it more pleasurable to drink.

Many Martinborough winemakers were highly aware of the fragmented, variable and wandering character of wine drinkers. As one told me:

‘It’s a constant battle to keep attracting customers. We all have our loyal group of customers, but the majority seem to like to try out new wines or different vineyards. At times even some of our loyal customers fall by the wayside - especially when the economy takes a downturn - although they are often very unwilling to give up drinking their regular wines and simply ride it out’ (Martinborough winemaker).

Similarly French winemakers are “well aware of the ephemeral nature of their modern clientele, who in general demonstrates the following features: occasional in his/her consumption, looking for a new discovery, a coup de coeur, passionate in his/her quest and basing the quest on the consumption of others” (Demossier 2005: 145).

Through their conspicuous purchase, consumption and sociality of sharing wine Martinborough’s tourists effectively enacted personal and intentional choices that performatively asserted an autonomous, coherent and valued sense of reflexive individuality. They also did this by producing narratives of reflexive distinction. Thus while many recognised that some individuals possessed comparatively superior financial resources or cultural capital (i.e. wine connoisseurship) which influenced and was reflected in their personal wine selections, many also claimed that they purposefully chose not to enter into such competitive fields of action. Some stated that they were not personally willing to invest the time or energy in acquiring the necessary cultural capital, indeed as noted one tourist dismissed wine connoisseurship as ‘pretentious posing’. Others claimed they episodically participated in ‘researching’ and consuming fine wine when their personal financial resources allowed them to do so. Some stated, however, that they were not at all interested in wine connoisseurship or associated manifestations of elite social distinction. Many of these said they simply

purchased the best wine they could afford, this being not simply a matter of personal finances but also of context and their assessment of '*how much one wishes to spend*' on wine for a specific given occasion (e.g. more on special occasions etc). This category of wine drinker was typically happy to be guided by an acknowledged expert (e.g. a wine waiter, wine critic, tasting notes).

The individualising character of performative, democratised and singular modes of wine consumption effectively facilitated narrative utterances of reflexive distinction. Moreover there were also socially validated spaces, such as vineyard wine shops (see Introduction), in restaurants or in discussions with travelling companions, for tourists to pursue, assert and be socially validated for their personal tastes in wine. Nevertheless most tourists recognised and reproduced hierarchies of wine distinction that were underscored by the '*French tradition*' of fine wine and the associated possession of stratified cultural or economic capitals. Narratives of reflexive distinction, however, created, acknowledged and maintained accordant socio-economic hierarchies while also simultaneously privileging contextual and personally variable wine consumption and reflexive orientations toward social distinction. Through such reflexive narratives and performances of distinction Martinborough's tourists were enabled to not only publicly express their personal tastes, preferences and status aspirations, they were also able to readily assert their ideal reflexive individuality (see Chapter 7).

Conclusion

Throughout history, and across many different cultures, the production and consumption of wine has dynamically signified variations in social distinction – although routinely the best wines (however defined) have been reserved for, and hence have socially constructed, the 'best people'. Since the development of vineyard, vintage and varietal specific wines in 17th century, however, the consumption of good quality wines has been progressively evident in conspicuous settings such as taverns and restaurants. Wine consumption has increasingly become a marker of middle class distinction and transnational cosmopolitanism. As such, variations in wine consumption, especially in terms of aesthetic appreciation and expense, have just as significantly evolved into performative mechanisms through which the middle classes construct and negotiate highly nuanced hierarchies of social status.

During the same time, wine as a commodity has also become more singular, the cultural capital of its appreciative consumption has been significantly democratised and vineyards, including highly eminent ones, have contributed to socio-economic dictates of niche consumption by producing wines tiered by quality and price. Consequently, the distinction accorded to superior wines has become evermore accessible to a wide range of consumers, including novice, ordinary and episodic drinkers. This has created a space where variations in the wine praxis of individuals, especially in terms of personal tastes, sensibilities and even orientations towards social distinction, are socially validated and thus function to assert the ideal reflexive individuality of consumers.

In the following chapters I examine how Martinborough's tourists reproduced this nexus of wine consumption, social distinction and ideal reflexive individuality. In following chapter I analyse how the tourists' deployed an entangled mythologisation of the rural and metro-rural idyll, the '*French tradition*' of quality wine and the New World wine ethos of progressive innovation and experimentation in their pursuit of middle class distinction and ideal reflexive individuality. While in the remaining chapters I specifically explore the reflexivity and distinction attributed to wine production/ consumption.

Chapter Six:

Idyllic New World Wines

Introduction

The production and in-situ, leisured consumption of Martinborough wine was clearly embedded within the tourists' idyllic rural and metro-rural constructs. As noted the tourists' picturesque desires and romantic gazes significantly focused on the surface aesthetics of Martinborough's orderly, pristine vineyards (see Chapter 3). Martinborough's vineyards were dialogically cast as boutique, family-run endeavours, which embodied the hand-crafted or artisan ideals of winemaking and wine itself was typically regarded as an innately trustworthy and natural commodity. Lastly wine was regarded as a particularly urbane commodity and the appreciative consumption of high quality wines as a marker of middle class distinction.

Yet the rural idyll was not the only emblematic, seemingly enduring mythology deployed to underscore the metro-rural urbanity attributed to Martinborough's tourists and winemakers. The idealised '*French tradition*' of fine wine also buttressed many touristic assertions concerning the perceived high quality of Martinborough wines and set the standard for optimal wine consumption. The mythologised '*French tradition*' effectively established and maintained the elite distinction routinely associated with fine wine production and consumption. This ethos was, however, counterbalanced by an equally pervasive celebration of New World wine pioneership that opened spaces for experimentation in both wine production and consumption. Furthermore this ethos constructively supported narratives of ideal reflexive individuality that were ascribed to Martinborough's winemakers and which were routinely articulated by tourists. Thus the entangled mythologies of the '*French tradition*' of fine wine, the New World wine ethos and the rural/metro-rural idylls colluded to simultaneously underpin and reconcile assertions of both hierarchised social distinction and ideal reflexive individuality.

Family vineyards

The idyllic farming family ethos, which for tourists characteristically focused on the ideals of social intimacy, cohesion and harmony, was also routinely highlighted in the website promotions of many Martinborough vineyards. The promotional rhetoric usually highlighted the model rural family who harmoniously work and play together, encircled by the sylvan nature of a rural village. The family ethos was thus perceived to facilitate the progressive and beneficial development of Martinborough vineyards and by inference also ensured the authentic production of quality wines. For example;

“Voss Estate Vineyard is a family owned producer in the wine village of Martinborough - just one hour's drive from Wellington, the capital of New Zealand. Established in 1986 by Pinot noir enthusiasts Annette & Gary Voss, their highly focused approach remains hands-on, from managing the vineyards through to making and marketing the wines. In true family style, Gary's family helped to plant the vineyard in 1988. Gary & Annette have since planted another vineyard entirely in Pinot Noir to help meet the demand for Martinborough Pinot.

Gary & Annette's wine producing philosophy has been to establish the brand name, “Voss Estate”, at the premium high quality end of the local and global wine market” (www.vossestate.co.nz, August 2006).

Some of the promotional material was presented within the emblematic idioms of familial discourse, as though it were conventional family news shared with friends. For example, this extract from Ata Rangi's 2002 Spring Release promotional pamphlet:

“Ata Rangi: dawn sky, new beginning... IS TODAY A FLOURISHING VINEYARD owned and managed by Clive Paton, his wife Phyll, Clive's sister Alison and her winemaker husband Oliver Masters... Clive accepted an invitation to co-present a Pinot Noir tasting in Brisbane in July...The koala-spotting family holiday was a bonus! JOY on the home front – Clive and Phyll's first grandchild, Grace Lulu, arrived safely, albeit a tad early in November. Britt, MacKenzie and little Miller also colour our busy lives with their triumphs and tumbles, their eclectic art-work, the cherished pony, pet mice and toy truck collection. Somehow we trip our way through! We're thankful for Grandma, for the relative ease of village life and above all, for

the unwavering support of our amazing staff’ (Ata Rangi Spring Release 2002 – emphasis in original).

The promotions of the larger Martinborough vineyards, such as Palliser Estate and Te Kairanga which are both shareholder, unlisted public companies, and to a lesser extent Martinborough Vineyard which is owned by six non-resident/winemaking shareholders, also emphasised the apparent personalised orientation of their operations by publicizing their winemaking teams in familial or friendship terms, or by simply highlighting the biographical narratives of key personnel (see below).

The idealised familial-ethos was not, however, simply mere rhetoric aimed at casting Martinborough’s vineyards and wines as authentically wholesome, trustworthy commodities (Williamson 1978). For example, one of Martinborough’s most successful winemakers told me that despite receiving almost weekly offers of shareholding investment in his vineyard, which would considerably help alleviate recurrent fiscal pressures, he had resisted all such overtures as he believed that control over his winemaking was dependent on the vineyard remaining *‘family owned’*. He was also highly conscious that being in control of his vineyard and not answerable to shareholders enabled him to effectively take *‘time out’* to participate in his school-aged children’s extra-curricular activities. The winemaker said he was committed to establishing a *‘legacy’* that would be passed on to his children when he retired or died.

Similarly a significant number of tourists commented favourably on the family ethos (including husband/wife partnerships) of many Martinborough vineyards. Their discourse also centred on the bucolic ideals of social cohesion, harmony and everyday familial intimacy. Many tourists, especially those holidaying with their families (e.g. with dependent children, grandparents etc) and those with dependent children yet holidaying without them, also commented positively on the social intentionality of family-run vineyards. They specifically admired how family-operated vineyards facilitated both occupational or financial concerns and idyllic family relations:

‘I really like the whole family atmosphere of the vineyards. Not only are our children welcome, but it is wonderful to see the winemakers’ family all pitching in’ (Martinborough tourist, female, mid-50’s).

'It seems as though the winemakers have the best of both worlds – both time for their families and running a successful business' (Martinborough tourist, male, mid-50's).

As noted, social cohesion, basic trust, constructive support and intentionality are ideal traits that are typically ascribed to prototypical pure relationships (Giddens 1991) and to the tourists' reflexive sociality. Reflexive sociality was highly valued by tourists as it, in part, served to validate their ideal reflexive individuality by highlighting personal choices and their social intentionality. The ideals of pure relationships and reflexive sociality were dialogically aligned with, and hence validated, the artisan autonomy of the winemakers who control their own businesses and produce wines that reflect their personalities. Thus the stereotypical alienation and anonymity of city life, which essentially results in the denial of one's unique personality, was not only transcended through the social intimacy and intentionality of family-run vineyards (as practiced by winemakers and visited by tourists), but the hand-crafted and boutique character of Martinborough winemaking also effectively personalised production and by association the tourists' consumption of wine (see below). This nexus of family-run, boutique vineyards and artisan, hand-crafted winemaking was typically regarded by tourists as an epitome of lifestyle choice and one in which individuals in their occupational and familial endeavours consistently enjoyed both ideal reflexive autonomy and elite social distinction.

Numerous magazine and newspaper articles highlighted this nexus. The articles emphasised the winemaker's reflexive philosophies of winemaking and their biographical 'journey' toward achieving this goal (including tertiary oenological education, formative wine-tasting experiences, distinctive production techniques etc) and also on how success in their family lives and winemaking careers were mutually dependent. Many articles also highlighted the winemaker's personal tastes and urbane cosmopolitanism as expressed in their choices of housing, furniture and art. For example, a NZ House & Garden article entitled "The Finer Things" (1998: 120-131), which featured the self-proclaimed 'Ata Rangi four' (Clive and Phyll Paton, Oliver and Ali Masters), begins by identifying them and their respective children and explaining their familial and vineyard connections: "Their aunt Ali, Clive's sister, lives with her husband, Oliver Masters just a hop and skip through the vines and down an avenue of

claret ashes” (1998: 122). The article also noted that the latest addition to the Ata Rangi family, Miller (Oliver and Ali Master’s son), “did the decent thing in winemaker’s terms and arrived after vintage” (1998: 126), thus extolling the virtue of blending family and business:

“Extended family were important from the beginning, with grandma Paton (Lulu) available then, as she is now, to help with children and meals and harvest-time muffins for the pickers... [While] the children don’t recognise the boundaries between the family homes and have always moved easily (with permission) from home, past the winery, through the ‘magic forest’ to Ali and Oliver’s house. Brittany especially loves to trail behind Clive “helping Daddy”, observing and learning” (1998: 127 & 130).

The article also details how Clive established Ata Rangi and then took his sister, Ali, into the business; how in 1995 Ata Rangi’s Pinot Noir won the first of two best wine trophies in International Wine and Spirit Competition held in London; and how the property is dotted with special trees (e.g. wedding trees, those planted in naming ceremonies, to remember loved Granddads). The author notes that “Clive is as passionate about trees as he is about wine” (1998: 130). The article is illustrated with photographs of winery workers, Clive’s children ‘bathing in’ or ‘cleaning out’ one of the winery’s stainless steel vats and of the families’ respective homes, including interior photographs of such urbane detail as Phyll’s individually “designed olive motif on the specially made Morris & James kitchen tiles” (1998: 125).

Other articles extolled similar themes on the how valued social connections can lead to success in winemaking and thus ultimately facilitate the ideal reflexive individuality of winemakers. For example, *The Dominion* (a Wellington daily morning newspaper) ran a series of biographical articles on Martinborough’s winemakers, including one that discussed how Larry McKenna (of Martinborough Vineyard and more latterly of Escarpment) first discovered a rogue Pinot Noir vine amongst the Gewürztraminer at a Delegats’ vineyard in South Auckland, where in 1980 he was learning about winemaking from an old school mate, John Hancock. Despite being informed by Hancock not to worry about it as Pinot Noir “doesn’t do much good outside Burgundy” (*The Dominion*, 1999, March 20: 19), McKenna took the initiative that would eventually led him to be regarded as one of New Zealand’s foremost Pinot Noir

winemakers: “That night I went to the local wine shop and bought about three bottles of the stuff because I thought I better find something about it” (The Dominion, 1999, March 20: 19).

An article in the Evening Post (a now defunct Wellington daily newspaper) discussed how Ali and Oliver Masters first met at Ata Rangi. Entitled “LOVE AMONG the vines” (1998, January 16: 23 – emphasis in original) it detailed how a “tall, blond and handsome” Oliver Masters, who had just completed post-graduate studies in viticulture and oenology at Lincoln University (Christchurch, New Zealand) visited Ata Rangi in 1989. While Ali recalled that for her it was “sort of love at first sight”, Oliver’s “interest was also sparked and he quietly jacked up a job for the next vintage” (Evening Post 1998, January 16: 23). The articles clearly articulated the notion that winemaking, especially on the boutique scale of Martinborough vineyards, is initiated by and facilitates a dynamic blend of family life, romantic partnerships, valued friendships, cosmopolitan lifestyles and autonomous employment, all of which is manifested in highly personalised or reflexive practices (e.g. self-designed tiles, husband-wife work teams, Grandma’s home-baked muffins).

It was not unusual to hear tourists, either visiting a vineyard or in local restaurants and cafés, verbally daydream about *‘how nice it would be to own a vineyard’*. Often their conversations would focus on how this would enable them to be *‘their own boss’*, as well as producing something substantive or material (compared to the transience of ‘paperwork’ that characterises a wide range of middle class employment). Many also commented that a vineyard lifestyle would assist them to realise much-desired, but seldom-achieved, *‘balance’* between work and *‘home life’* (i.e. regular quality time with one’s spouse and children). The tourists’ fantasies of owning and operating a vineyard also typically centred on *‘how nice it would be to drink your own wine’* and to *‘share your own wine with friends’*, thus emphasising their desire for idealised autonomy in the realms of employment/production, domesticity, friendship and for social recognition of their productive efforts. The tourists thus expressed a desire for the ideal reflexive individuality that was characteristically attributed to winemakers and their lifestyles. In this regard the tourists largely ignored, concealed or were not cognisant of the various tribulations of boutique wine production (see below).

Winemakers as family

The idealised rural and reflexive sociality, and similar rhetoric that focused on biographised yet cooperative winemaking teams (see Chapter 7), was also referenced in the promotional literature of New Zealand wineries. For example, two of Martinborough's most esteemed wineries, Ata Rangi and Palliser Estate, together with Craggy Range (who operate vineyards in Marlborough, the Hawkes Bay and at Te Muna) and nine other New Zealand wineries joined promotional forces under the banner of the "Family of Twelve" (www.twelve.co.nz, August 2006) to develop export markets. The alliance's advertising clearly articulates an ideal of diverse, passionate individuals combined together within the progressive and constructive milieu of a unified family, an endeavour that is also perceived of as integral to production of fine New Zealand wine:

"Like all interesting families we're made up of very distinct individuals. There are the bold ones who will always gravitate to the head of the table and the quiet ones content to watch and listen. There are the old and the young; the ones with the experience of years and the ones with energies and enthusiasms of youth. A typical family.

We come from all parts of New Zealand and from all walks of life. We're Kiwis, Australians, English and Swiss, but we're a family of New Zealanders.

New Zealand wine, today, has found itself on the world stage and that's where we want it to be. But we want it to be there by design not accident. To be there because it's good. Very good. Great.

And that is the common thread that binds the members of this family. We admire and strive for perfection, for that 'greatness'. You can hear it in the conversations; there is a restlessness, a constant looking forward. "If it's not in the glass, it's not at the family table" is the watchword" (www.twelve.co.nz, August 2006).

Although the sacred connotations of the twelve wine disciples are extremely interesting (as are the nationalist sentiments), the predominant notion that interesting,

presumably successful, families are assemblages of very distinct individuals bound together by their intentional, progressive quest for perfection constitutively combines the ideals of rural sociality with those of reflexive individualism. Each individual winery of the self-proclaimed Family of Twelve has its own “Family Story” (www.twelve.co.nz, August 2006), which details the particular history of each vineyard’s establishment and development, and further biographically identifies the distinct individuals (e.g. founders and winemakers) who are cast as crucial to these successful enterprises. The promotions thus proclaim that the production of fine wine significantly and ideally results from the shared aspirations and intentional unification of reflexive individuals who are systematically creative, passionate and autonomous. Or as Richard Riddiford, managing director of Palliser Estate, noted the name “Family of Twelve” was adopted to reflect both “cooperative spirit and private ownership... like all the best ideas [it emerged]... over a glass of wine” (www.palliser.co.nz, August 2006):

“We want to make a stand for producers of quality, individuality and diversity... Each of us is committed to fine wine and it’s refreshing to work with generous-spirited, fun, intelligent and creative people” (Riddiford – www.palliser.co.nz, August 2006).

Wine was thus dialogically cast as a consequential and emblematic outcome of the institutionalisation of reflexive individualism and as an urbane, middle class commodity which is trenchantly enhanced and validated within the rural idyll mythologisation of the farming family and hand-crafted artisanship.

Hand-crafted wines

Much of Martinborough vineyards’ promotional material also emphasised the hand-crafted character and the consequentially natural high-quality of their wines:

“The vineyard is very much a **hands-on operation**, and we adopt organic principles and practices wherever possible.... Even our packaging is designed to be used as permanent cellar boxes or recycled” (www.porterspinoth.co.nz, August 2006 – emphasis mine).

“Low-cropped, **hand tended** vines are managed to produce the highest quality fruit possible, and minimal intervention in the winery is only where necessary, to guide the wines to reflect the intrinsic characters of their site.

The grapes are hand picked to ensure that only the best fruit makes it to the bottle” (www.martinborough-vineyard.co.nz, August 2006 - emphasis mine).

“The Alana winery ... optimizes the rapid delivery of the **handpicked fruit** ...without the need for double handling. The winery is of a gravity flow design ... This design allows the winemaker the liberty to remove the option of pumping the wine and fruit around the cellar. This is extremely important for the production of quality Pinot Noir” (www.alana.co.nz, August 2006 - emphasis mine).

Many tourists commented favourably on the apparent hand-picked or individually crafted aspect of Martinborough’s boutique wines, in particular how such wines directly reflected the winemaker’s unique personality (i.e. their reflexive wine philosophies and palate). Accordingly many felt that Martinborough’s wines were more distinctive and reflective of specific winemakers’ efforts than those wines produced on large-scale, institutionalised and mechanised vineyards. The touristic celebration of Martinborough winemakers’ artisanship also reflected a key ideal of the vernacular rural idyll, namely that people in the nurturing pastoral environs of a caring and sociable rural community are socially known, named and biographically recognised individuals. The distinctive efforts (productive, social etc) of such named individuals are metonymically aligned with their personalities and biographies. The idyllic personalisation and biographisation therefore also cast winemakers and winemaking as archetypical reflexive phenomena, in which the intentional autonomy and productive efforts of distinct individuals are both recognised and celebrated (see Chapter 7).

Many tourists also stated that hand-crafted wines were also generally of a higher-quality, by virtue of being both an authentic manifestation of the artisan-like care and passion of a known winemaker, and from being ‘*more natural*’ or less processed than mass-produced wines:

‘You get a better feel that wines from places like Martinborough are made with greater care and attention to detail... they are small, real hands-on vineyards and the winemakers control everything from the vineyard to the winery, so whenever they release a new vintage the reputation of winemaker

and vineyard are right on the line' (Martinborough 'wine buff', male, mid-40's).

'I think hand-picked or hand-made wines are more natural than mass-produced wines... picking by machines must damage the grapes and besides as I understand it when you are hand-picking you can select the best grapes. It seems to me that all the best wines are hand-made in some way' (Martinborough tourist, female, Wellington-based).

A number of (predominantly male) tourists also jokingly commented how they expected to see, or were desirous of watching, the grapes being hand-picked into wicker-baskets and then pressed by foot (presumably in large wooden barrels) by *'gaggles of buxom, peasant girls wearing revealing white blouses and hitching up their skirts as they worked'*. One male tourist even fantasised how *'wonderful it would be if the groups of peasant girls were singing Italian opera'* as they stomped the grapes by foot. Leaving aside considerations of the sexualised, male gaze and attributions of sensual femininity that are often associated with wine as a commodity, the touristic celebration of hand-crafted wines articulated other key tenets of the vernacular rural idyll. Specifically the tourists' romanticised notion of rural work are highlighted, especially the expectation of an idealised, beneficial communion with nature (re: production of naturally fine wine) and related sociable work processes, which together facilitated the production of authentic and trustworthy commodities.

Narratives of hand-crafted winemaking also articulate the notion that at critical moments in the production of wine highly precisioned and specialised human intervention (e.g. systematic pruning, leaf-plucking) or minimal human impact (e.g. when picking grapes, moving grapes to fermentation vats) is necessary in the production of high-quality wines. This notion further emphasises that in the production of hand-crafted wines the influence of an individual can be decidedly significant and thus sponsors the correlated celebrity adulation of winemakers that is widespread amongst New Zealand wine consumers (see Chapter 7). Such assertions effectively proclaim that individuals significant in the winemaking process, for example winemakers and viticulturalists, are able to effectively monitor, evaluate and control all the processes of wine production and hereby personally ensure the highest quality of

wine in relation to various environmental factors such as vineyard site or terroir, climatic and seasonal conditions, the age of grapevines etc. Indeed some Martinborough winemakers lamented the fact that as their operations increased in size, in terms of the planted acreages and grape tonnage processed, their ability to maintain levels of individual control were incrementally reduced, especially by the necessity of employing specialists (e.g. viticulturalist, winery managers) over which they could only maintain a '*decision-making*' role or managerial oversight.

Fig.26. The boutique size of most Martinborough vineyards necessarily means that the majority of production is a mixture of mechanisation and physical labour. Here vineyard workers hand-pick grapes, which will be delivered by tractor to the nearby winery and processed in a mechanical press.

Few winemakers, however, completely lamented the use of mechanisation, which is often required to enable effective processing of increased grape tonnages (see Fig.26.). For example, after being picked grapes can quickly begin to ferment as they increase in temperature and especially so when bundled tightly together in collection bins. Therefore getting grapes from the vineyard to the winery as quickly as possible with the use of tractors and trucks is highly desirable. In fact all Martinborough winemakers used refrigerated vats to control the rate of pressed grape fermentation and to produce different flavour effects.

All winemaking processes, except perhaps for tasting and the oversight of individual barrels during wine maturation, can be fully mechanised and research suggests that technology such as mechanical harvesting has “no negative effect on wine quality” (Robinson 1999: 439). Most Martinborough winemakers took a pragmatic approach to utilising supposed New World innovations and Old World traditions. Thus while most stated they would not use tractor-based, mechanical pruning machines as they lacked the precision of hand-pruning, many bemoaned the fact mechanically-powered, hand-held pruning shears, which do much to relieve the labour intensive, back-breaking effects of hand-pruning, were so expensive that only ‘*lead-hands*’¹¹¹ were typically equipped with them (pers. comm.). A number also commented that continued difficulty in sourcing regular and reliable seasonal labour meant that if technologies such as mechanical harvesters were less expensive they would definitely use them on grapes where skin contact was not an issue.¹¹²

Given the degree to which Martinborough winemakers embrace New World technologies, the notion of hand-made or hand-crafted wines tends to speak more directly to the boutique nature of their vineyards and consequent capacity of winemakers to personally monitor and control the various production processes (both viticultural and vinicultural). It also is linked with romantic ideals of rural-based, artisan-like craft production of authentic (i.e. natural) and personalised goods. At one level the production of hand-crafted wines appears to be a necessity dictated by economies of scale. Not surprisingly the largest Martinborough vineyard, Palliser Estate (85ha), used mechanical harvesters and Craggy Range vineyard (166ha) at Te Muna also transports picked grapes in refrigerated containers to their winery in the Hawkes Bay, more than 300 kilometres and 4-5 hours away by truck. Nevertheless, for most of Martinborough’s boutique vineyards the economic imperatives of utilising large amounts of physical labour are recast within the rural idyll idioms of hand-crafted artisanship, again demonstrating the middle class propensity to turn necessity into idealised opportunity. Moreover, the tourists reproduced this ethos to highlight their

¹¹¹ A lead hand is the individual who is in charge of a group of grape pickers.

¹¹² Mechanical harvesters, which essentially beat the ripe grapes off the vine, can cause grapes to split with the result that the juice begins to oxidise and effectively spoil. Moreover, the juice can also come into contact with the grape skins and stalks, which in white wines especially can result in increased production of phenolics that can produce a bitter tannin taste (Robinson 1999: 439). For most Martinborough wines these considerations are not, however, an issue as the wineries are generally located very close to the vineyards.

beliefs that hand-crafted wines are of high-quality and that Martinborough wines resonate with reflexive passion, craft and progressive innovation of individual winemakers, and ultimately the ideals of reflexive individualism.

Artisan winemakers

Many tourists were impressed by the '*passion*' or '*artistry*' that they perceived Martinborough's winemakers routinely brought to bear on winemaking:

'The winemakers I have met are clearly very passionate about what they do... they are like artists, but with a scientific bent. I think winemaking is as much an art as it is a science' (Wine tourist, male, mid 30's).

A similar narrative was also commonly articulated by winemakers¹¹³ and others involved in the wine industry, who often talked about having a '*love affair*' with or '*driving passion*' for wine, both in the quest of making fine wine and for its appreciative consumption. The promotional rhetoric of many of the vineyards' emphasised the reflexive passion of winemakers and the resultant quality wines produced:

"The Ata Rangi four are passionate about pinot and uncompromising in their pursuit of quality in all endeavours" (Ata Rangi Spring Release 2002).

"In 1979 Dr Neil and Dawn McCallum planted a vineyard a few kilometres from Dyerville... Their dream was to produce individual, high quality regional wines which faithfully reflect the 'terroir', vintage and are suitable for cellaring" (www.dryriver.co.nz, August 2006).

"Dr Derek Milne, was so convinced of the validity of their conclusions that, together with a group of 5 other enthusiasts, bought 16 acres in the zone and started Martinborough Vineyard... So began a passionate search for the finest New World Pinot noir that was to continue to the present day" (www.martinborough-vineyard.co.nz, August 2006).

¹¹³ Not all Martinborough winemakers agreed with this assessment. Stratford Canning, winemaker at Margrain Vineyard, dismissed the suggestion that art is an integral component of winemaking: "I certainly don't see myself as a great artist. I think that if you are thorough and take care of all the little housekeeping matters, you've gone an awful long way toward producing good wine" (The Dominion 2000, January 12: 17).

The passion of the winemaker (or to a lesser extent the vineyard owner if a different person) is promoted by the industry, and is therefore regarded by tourists, as a reflexive force or emotion variously expressed in winemaking techniques (especially in hand-crafted as opposed to mechanical or industrial techniques) and in the progressive pursuit of producing fine wines that are locale distinctive (e.g. representative of Martinborough and/or of a specific vineyard). Ultimately the personality of the winemaker, especially their perceived unique wine palate or tastes, is believed to be conveyed in the wine itself:

‘What we are attempting here is to make top quality international wines that are distinctively Martinborough in origin and that also reflect our personal philosophies and tastes in wine’ (Martinborough winemaker).

Although not advertising a Martinborough wine, but rather Babich wines from the Hawkes Bay (approximately 200km north-west of the Wairarapa) the following advertisement neatly encapsulates this ethos of winemaker passion:

“OUR WINEMAKERS RESERVE – HE POURED HIS HEART INTO IT... Unlike other wines, which bear the stamp of the winery, Winemaker’s Reserve ‘belongs’ to the winemaker – it is his opportunity to create a wine unfettered by anyone’s vision but his own” (Campbell 2000: 14 – emphasis in original).

Overlooked actualities of boutique wine-production

The tourist’s perceptions of family-run vineyards producing reflexive hand-crafted wines and a bucolic sociality largely reflect those of the winemakers’ promotions. These mutually constitutive narratives, however, overlook the bothersome, yet integral aspects, of boutique winemaking in Martinborough. The economies of scale for the commodity-production of boutique wine dictate that many of Martinborough’s smallest (and mid-sized) vineyards (e.g. Haythornwaite (8 acres); Porters Vineyard (5 acres); Voss Estate (20 acres); Vynfields (13 acres)) are essentially compelled to be reliant on family labour or alternatively be appreciably capitalised to enable the employment of contract-labour or significant mechanisation of production (e.g. mechanical harvesters). Many Martinborough vineyards, especially in their establishment phase (which is typically five years before commercial quantities of wine are produced), were only financially viable because they were supported by off-site income provided by the non-

winemaking partners (typically ‘wives’) who were employed in other sectors of the economy. For example, Annette Atkins of Voss Estate was employed as a fisheries biologist until 1993, two years after the vineyard started production (www.vossestate.co.nz, August 2006). Phyll Paton of Ata Rangi initially commuted to Wellington to work for the New Zealand Dairy Board in a research, development, and marketing position, in addition to winemaking and undertaking an administration role at the winery (Phyll Paton, Martinborough Winemakers Oral History 1990). Ata Rangi’s founder, Clive Paton, worked as the sexton at Martinborough’s public cemetery and planted pumpkins in the rows in-between his newly planted grapevines (Clive Paton, Martinborough Winemakers Oral History 1990), while many Martinborough winemakers also undertake wine consultancy work to supplement their vineyard-derived incomes.

Many of Martinborough’s smallest vineyards are essentially part-time enterprises and are financially supported by their owners working off-site. For example, John Porter of Porter’s Vineyard worked as a lawyer in Wellington (www.porters.co.nz, August 2006) and Mark Haythornthwaite and Susan Andrews “both continue to work full time in the corporate world in Wellington whilst supporting their retirement dreams” (www.haythornthwaite.co.nz, August 2006) of establishing their HT3 Vineyard. As one columnist noted some of the “growers of the second-wave [i.e. those attracted to Martinborough after the success of pioneer winemakers] led a double life – one foot in Wellington, one in Martinborough” (Evening Post 2002, May 16: 17).

Many Martinborough vineyards are therefore similar to family owned and operated farms in New Zealand, which are typically both a “household and an enterprise... that invests [most often through economic necessity] family labour and capital to make products which are sold on external markets” (Moran et al. 1993: 26). Hence, decisions about household or domestic-unit goals (e.g. housing, schooling and family activities) and enterprise aspirations (e.g. organisation of family and contract labour, capital investments) need to be continually cross-referenced. For many Martinborough vineyards, which also operate on-site wine shops to facilitate direct cellar sales and who more importantly market directly to distribution agents, restaurateurs etc, the practical demands of hosting VIPs, attending marketing promotions, entering wine competitions and so on have to also be taken into consideration. Thus the bucolic family ethos is for

many Martinborough vineyards as much an economic necessity as it is an expression of idealised familial and employment relationships. The winemakers' promotional and philosophical insistence that they are committed to family winemaking is pursued in a manner that resonates, to paraphrase Bourdieu (1984: 175), with the characteristically middle class strategy of 'turning necessity into opportunity' whereby reflexive intentionality and choice are cast as premium virtues.

Home-made Martinborough

Many tourists also expressed an appreciation for '*home-grown*' or '*homemade*' foodstuffs (e.g. fruits, cheeses, jams, preserves) and arts/ crafts (e.g. designer clothing, pottery) they purchased whilst holidaying in Martinborough. Typically such foodstuffs were considered to be fresher, '*more natural*' and less likely to be '*drenched in preservatives*' (i.e. pesticides, preserving agents) than similar products purchased from city stores and supermarkets. Hence tourists attributed the values of idyllic clean, green rurality to locally grown and manufactured foodstuffs. In fact one catering company was well-known for purchasing entire stocks of chutneys and jams at Wairarapa school fairs, which they then repackaged under their own brand name and sold in Wellington as home-made products. Similarly many tourists regarded locally produced or retailed crafts, which ranged from hand-blown glassware and pottery to hand-crafted lavender soaps from Twigg's Town & Country and whirligigs from Moazark (i.e. hand-made wooden, decorative birds with mobile wings or legs designed to blow around in the wind), as unique or '*one-off*' craftworks that represented the artisanship of distinct (often named) producers.

As with the idealisation of hand-crafted wines there was a widely shared belief that the labour imparted into such products was more apt to be vocational or a '*labour of love*', and thus reflected the passion and skill of a reflexive, often biographised producer. It was also typically perceived that such artisan producers were not likely to be principally motivated by the pursuit of profit or encumbered by the multitude of creative constraints that characterise much wage-employment. Thus tourists often contrasted rurally produced items with the mass-produced, made-for-profit merchandise they typically consumed in urban settings. The work of producing rural goods was thus contrasted with the more specialised, anonymous and bureaucraticised employment that many tourists characteristically experienced:

'I love all the crafts and hand-made products. I also enjoy meeting the people who make these things as they seem to be more motivated by a way-of-life than simply working day in and day out for a large corporation. I really envy their passion for what they are doing...makes my own work in admin seem very dull by comparison' (Female tourist, aged in mid 30's, Wellington resident).

The hand-made aspect of rural products appeared especially important to the tourists and not necessarily whether the product under consideration was specifically manufactured in Martinborough or the Wairarapa (although amongst wine buffs the locality of production was an essential factor – see Chapter 8). This ethos significantly informed the organization of the popular Martinborough Fairs held annually on the first Saturday of February and March (see Fig.27.). The lure of Martinborough as a prototypical metro-rural township and thousands of hand-made, folk-craft products for sale was very attractive to fair-goers. Between 20,000 to 30,000 people attended these daylong fairs, which predominately featured craft stalls selling a wide range of products ranging from handmade knitwear, outdoor furniture and stained glassware, through to homemade preserves and jams. Many stallholders were from outside the Wairarapa region, including some from as far away as Northland and the South Island of New Zealand. Although the organisers, the South Wairarapa Rotary Club, aimed to showcase local products and craftspeople where possible, their primary aim was to raise funds for local charities. They did, however, insist that products were of '*good quality*' and actively refrained from a second-hand '*flea-market mentality*' (pers. comm.) or the sale of cheaply manufactured or previously owned goods, although one popular stall was permitted to sell second-hand books for some years.

Fig.27. Up to 30,000 consumers (predominantly women) descend on Martinborough for the February and March craft fairs run by the South Wairarapa Rotary Club.

The idyllic veneration of rural, artisan craftsmanship was also evident in tourists' admiration of family-run businesses, and most obviously where the domestic residence and business premises were situated on same site. Many tourists believed that family-produced commodities were inspired by artisan passions and idyllic lifestyle principles (e.g. 'family first') and were accordingly also likely to be distinctive, trustworthy products. Many Martinborough retailers recognised the importance placed by tourists on blending home and work:

'The customers seem to really like the fact that we live, work and sell our [products] all from the same premises...they are always asking about how we enjoy working from home and seem interested in renovations or additions we are planning for the place. In fact many of them simply pop in to say how much they like our front garden' (Martinborough producer/retailer).

Even when Martinborough's artisan producers did not live and work from the same location, there was still a general expectation that they should at least live locally or better still were also raised locally. For example, the proprietor of a Martinborough food shop, an urban immigrant, was widely celebrated for his innovation in also building and living in a nearby straw-house. The respective owners of manufacturing jewellers, designer clothing and a retail craft store were all '*local girls*' who had either returned to the township after periods away overseas or after being employed elsewhere

in New Zealand. They all believed that their localness stood them in good stead with customers:

'I think I get a lot of kudos for returning and setting up shop...of course all the locals are watching to see how I will go, but at the same time many are very supportive because they know me and they know my family... I think it is quite an advantage to have been raised locally. Obviously I know many of the other business people and where to go for bits and pieces, but even with the tourists they seem to like hear about a local girl making good – besides I can always give them directions if they are lost' (Martinborough manufacturer/ retailer).

Many tourists commented on how they felt their retail experiences in Martinborough were positively distinguished from the *'corporate'* or *'sterile'* ethos that they routinely experienced when shopping in the city:

'People here are more friendly, more interested in you as a person rather than just another customer and often you are dealing with the person who has made the stuff so you get a better feel of its quality and everything' (Tourist, female, mid 20's).

The tourists' idealisation of hand-made production, and the associated practice of working from home, reflects their desire to humanise or personalise the commodities they purchased through the creation of reflexive, biographical links or narratives between the product, producers and themselves as consumers (see Chapter 7). This, in part, represents a reaction against the social estrangement or disconnectedness between producers, retailers and consumers that many tourists habitually experience in their urban environs (Carrier 1994).

Clean, green, and naïve?

Aside from a small but notable number of wine buffs, the majority of tourists were not familiar with, and in many cases were not overtly inclined to learn about, the more technical aspects of winemaking, aside from remembering certain general information and the impact this would have on wine taste (e.g. aging wine on oak barrels imparts 'oaky' flavours and may result in a more complex flavoured wine that can be cellared for longer periods). Many, however, commented favourably on the *'clean, green'* or *'environmentally-friendly'* ethos they perceived in winemaking and accordingly

expressed a preference for wines that had minimal chemical inputs such as insecticides in the vineyard or flavour enhancers. The majority simply accepted a vineyard's assertion of environmentally sustainable practices, especially if framed within the attainment of appropriate institutional certification (e.g. ISO 14001¹¹⁴). Few enquired in any depth about what such warranties specifically ensured or what types of interventions were commonly practiced by the winemaker. For example, most New Zealand wines include preservatives (e.g. sulphur dioxide or Preservative 220¹¹⁵). Many are also fined¹¹⁶ using often centuries-old practices that involve putting substances such as fish isinglass (a protein obtained from fresh-water fish bladders), gelatine, bentonite clay, milk or egg whites into the grape juice to remove impurities such as dead yeast, and most vineyards use sulphur spray to control the spread of destructive bacterium or rot on growing grapes.

The Australia New Zealand Food Standards Code, which was empowered by the Food Act 1981, regulates the additives and processing aids that a winery is permitted to use. The Code aims to “protect the public from products which may be harmful to health” (Bell Gully 2005: 34) and to ensure that additives are only used to “achieve an identified technological function according to good manufacturing practice” (Bell Gully 2005: 34). Under Standard 1.3.1 (Schedule 1, 14.2.2) a total of 32 additives may be legally used in winemaking, ranging from Caramel I–plain to gum arabic, lactic, malic, fumaric, ascorbic, erythorbic, citric, tartaric, and metatartaric acids (www.foodstandards.gov.au, August 2006). Standard 1.3.1 also regulates the processing aids such as oak, isinglass and cupric citrate on a bentonite base, that may be used and Standard 2.7.4 regulates the addition of other foods to wine during its production, including grape juice or grape juice products, sugars, brandy or other spirits and water

¹¹⁴ ISO14001 certification is an international Environmental Management accreditation awarded by SGS International Ltd (www.iso14000-iso14001-environmental-management.com, November 2006).

¹¹⁵ Sulphur Dioxide is actually a natural by-product of the fermentation process, although it may be additionally added by a winemaker to inhibit oxidation, thus preserving the wine's colour and freshness over an extended period. Other preservatives include Potassium Sorbate or Preservative (202), which has yeast-inhibiting properties and is usually only added to cask wines. Ascorbic acid or Preservative (300), better known as Vitamin C, also has anti-oxidative properties and is mostly used in white wines.

¹¹⁶ Fining is a process whereby a fining agent (e.g. fish scales, clay compounds etc) is added to wine to assist in coagulating or absorbing the colloids (e.g. ultra microscopic particles) typically found in newly pressed wine and which make it hazy or cloudy. The colloids attach to the fining agents and are then filtered out of the wine, therefore improving its clarity. Most young wines, if left long enough, will eventually reach the same state of clarity. However, fining speeds this process by several months and thereby saves costs to the producer (Robinson 1999: 276).

where it is necessary to incorporate any permitted food additive or processing aid (www.foodstandards.gov.au, August 2006). In addition, Standard 2.7.1 regulates the labelling of wine, which must include the common name of the product (e.g. wine, sparkling wine), the name and address of supplier, country of origin, alcohol content, approximate number of standard drinks in bottle, date marking, lot and batch number, net content, identification of any genetically modified components, and the “mandatory declaration of the presence of certain substances which are known to provoke allergic reactions, for instance, egg and egg products, fish and fish products (including isinglass), milk or milk products (including casein) and sulphites” (Bell Gully 2005: 36).

These Standards were adopted in 2002, thus many red wines produced before this date but not yet released for commercial sale have been made using processing agents such as isinglass without identification. The release of these wines, however, caused little public debate or concern (c.f. NZ Herald, October 05, 2005: 4). Most tourists were not concerned about the use of preservatives in wine and only a few were aware that animal products such as egg, milk, and isinglass were routinely used. Most assumed that the winemakers *‘knew what they were doing’* and that the risk of public exposure and irreparable damage to their reputations would dissuade winemakers from intentionally carrying out harmful or inappropriate production practices. Most tourists assumed that wine connoisseurs, critics and various regulatory authorities (such as the Ministries of Environment and Health) were maintaining a vigilant watch on such matters and would immediately alert the general public of anything untoward. One dedicated vegan told me she was actually *‘unfussed’* that wine producers used animal products in fining wine, stating that you had *‘draw the line somewhere’*. She was also comforted by the fact that the products were filtered out and that winemakers stated that there were no detectable traces of fining agents left in bottled wine.

Martinborough wine mythologies

The idealisation of Martinborough winemaking was also collusively buttressed by the mythologised '*French tradition*' of fine wine and the New World wine ethos of progressive innovation and experimentation, which further underscored the metro-rural urbanity and ideal reflexive individuality attributed to Martinborough wine makers and tourists.

New World wine narratives that idealise Martinborough and New Zealand wines characteristically postulate that the best wines result from the systematic, yet innovative, use and progressive development of classical French winemaking techniques and wine appreciation regimes. There was a widespread perception amongst winemakers and connoisseurs that the greatest wines are typically French in origin and consequently many Martinborough winemakers, like their counterparts in other places of New Zealand, had spent at least one vintage in France under the direction of a French winemaker:¹¹⁷

“France, the country that produces more fine wine (and **BRANDY**) than any other, and in which wine is firmly embedded in the culture to the extent that such French people as are interested in it have a quasi-spiritual relationship with wine... There are few wine producers anywhere who would not freely admit that they have been influenced by the great wines of BOURDEAUX, BURGUNDY, CHAMPAGNE, or possibly the RHÔNE” (Robinson 1999: 283-284 – emphasis in original).

Martinborough winemakers, therefore, typically saw themselves as benefiting from the centuries of experience and knowledge garnered by French winemakers, many of whom are generational winemakers. As noted, most Martinborough winemakers, like the majority of winemakers worldwide, venerated the long history and contemporary resonance of wine research and innovation undertaken by their French counterparts (Robinson 1999: 284-287). Characteristically whenever assertions were made about the best practice in wine production and consumption many winemakers, wine critics, connoisseurs and Martinborough tourists cited the French wine industry and culture as

¹¹⁷ For example, Larry McKenna, then of Martinborough Vineyard, completed a vintage at Premeaux Prissey in Burgundy.

an exemplary model and especially so if the practice was perceived to be founded upon a long and enduring history:

“Winemakers in Burgundy have been fortunate that their forebears have spent many years working out the best ways of making wines to suit their various regional grapes... The information has been passed down in the form of tradition and many aspects have even been codified into law. In my view this represents a real advantage for the new generations of winemakers – nobody has to try to reinvent the wheel and make the same old mistakes in the process” (Dr Neil McCallum, winemaker Dry River, Martinborough – quoted in Cooper 2002: 9).

For example, the long-established French custom of aging wine (especially reds and whites such as Chardonnay) in oak barrels to enhance the complexity of flavour and the wine’s cellaring potentials is widely adhered to by Martinborough wine makers. Also ensuring that red wine was served at room temperature and was allowed to breathe (i.e. pulling the cork and standing a bottle for several hours before serving), or better still decanting the wine into a glass container, were widely believed by tourists to be French protocols that ensured optimal expression of a wine’s flavours. Some wine critics, however, believe that French wine connoisseurship is not as evolved as it is in Australia, Belgium, Great Britain, Switzerland and the United States (Robinson 1999: 283). This is possibly because the French have a long history of peasant wine production and historically “the average French citizen has bought and drunk little other than the wine produced closest to him [sic], whether geographically or by virtue of family or friendship. This has tended to stifle the development of wine retailing, although the number of specialist wine MERCHANTS, known here as *cavistes*, has increased significantly since the 1980’s” (Robinson 1999: 283 – emphasis in original).

As winemakers, wine critics and connoisseurs often cited French fine wine traditions as providing exemplary practices it was not surprising that such authoritative perceptions and discourses were reproduced, albeit rather naively, by ordinary wine drinkers and tourists in Martinborough. Thus many believed that French winemaking was tradition-bound and reflected centuries of unchanging customs maintained by generations of winemakers. Many also accepted that production practices such as aging wine in oak produced better quality wines and that consuming wine from the appropriate red, white

or champagne glasses ensured optimal drinking and taste conditions. Some tourists also believed, often without the consumption experience to validate, that top French wines (and especially Champagne) were of the highest quality and thus provided Martinborough and New Zealand winemakers with a ‘gold standard’ to ultimately surpass.

Most ordinary wine tourists also reproduced the ‘*French tradition*’ of fine wine through their assertions that Martinborough (and New Zealand wines) and winemaking were of equal, if not superior, quality. Statements such as ‘*as good the French*’ made by tourists when assessing the quality of a Martinborough wine were quite common. Moreover, many did not believe that New Zealand winemakers, as pioneers or at least new to the institutions of wine production, were similarly constrained by tradition, generational conventions or by the codified regulations of appellation controls as their French counterparts were. Thus Martinborough and New Zealand winemakers were in essence licensed to experiment and improve upon classical French viticultural and vinicultural techniques.

The tourists thus believed that Martinborough and New Zealand wines were at the ‘*cutting edge*’ of innovative production and that this was reflected in their capacity to consistently create evermore high-quality product. The idealised New World wine ethos was typically articulated by tourists, winemakers, wine critics and by the promoters of the local industry (e.g. New Zealand Winegrowers) in nationalistic terms, whereby local wine production (especially of Sauvignon Blanc) was perceived of as trailblazing higher standards in the global wine industry:

“Supercharged Sauvignon Blanc, overflowing with green-edged, zingy flavours, first ushered New Zealand wine onto the international stage in the 1980’s. Now the country’s burgeoning band of winemakers is also producing a glittering array of Chardonnays, Rieslings, sweet wines, bottle-fermented sparklings and reds. No one knows what will eventually emerge as New Zealand’s greatest gift to the wine world.” (Cooper 1996: 6).

“famed

New Zealand Wine – Pure Discovery. New Zealand is a land like no other. New Zealand wine is an experience like no other. Our special combination

of soil, climate and water, our innovative pioneering spirit and our commitment to quality all come together to deliver pure, intense and diverse experiences. In every glass of New Zealand Wine is a world of pure discovery.

acclaim

International acclaim. New Zealand Sauvignon Blanc is rated throughout the world as the definitive benchmark style for this varietal. The growing recognition for New Zealand Chardonnay, Pinot Noir, Méthode Traditionelle sparkling wines, Riesling, Cabernet Sauvignon and Merlot blends is helping to further cement New Zealand's position as a producer of world class wines” (www.nzwine.com, November 2007 – emphasis in original).

Unlike Martinborough winemakers, wine critics and connoisseurs, few tourists were appeared aware that such nationalistic assertions of innovation, pioneership and wine fervour were also reproduced in other New World wine societies such as Australia and the United States (Robinson 1999: 482). As noted, some tourists were not particularly cognisant of the notion of New World wine per se, and if they were, few were also aware that in the Old World this categorisation was initially used “somewhat patronizingly” (Robinson 1999: 482). Nevertheless as tourists, winemakers and others reproduced nationalistic sentiments and ideals that can be found in other similar wine societies, analyse of their discourses and expectations can be considered as an example of the New World wine ethos.

Most Martinborough winemakers, the majority of whom were dedicated to producing Pinot Noir, in practice regarded themselves as the New World beneficiaries and intentional developers or modernizers of centuries of winemaking in Burgundy. For example, the Pinot Noir produced by one of Martinborough’s most renowned vineyards, Ata Rangi’s, is derived chiefly from a ‘*gumboot clone*’. Gumboot clone is the popular name given to a Pinot Noir clone, the original cuttings of which were allegedly taken from one of Burgundy’s finest estates, Domaine de la Romanee-Conti, smuggled out of France in someone’s gumboot (this kept them moist and viable during their precarious journey) and into New Zealand in the late 1970’s. These cuttings were

confiscated at the Auckland Airport by a customs officer named Malcolm Abel, who was incidentally also a winemaker. Realising the significance of these cuttings to the formative Pinot Noir industry in New Zealand, Malcolm Abel took the cuttings to the state-owned viticulture research station at nearby Te Kauwhata, where they were quarantined and then propagated some years later. In 1982 Malcolm Abel was approached by Ata Rangi's founder, Clive Paton, who volunteered to work a vintage at Malcolm's winery. Subsequently Malcolm gifted Clive some of the gumboot clones and he duly planted these at Ata Rangi. Unfortunately Malcolm Abel died shortly afterwards and the Abel Vineyard was swallowed up in Auckland's urban sprawl. The gumboot clone, which is also affectionately and reflexively known as the Abel Clone, however flourished at Ata Rangi. Other Pinot Noir clones planted by Ata Rangi are Dijon selections (mainly Clone 667, 777, 114 and 115) and Pomard (Clone 5 and a smaller amount of 10/5), of which the original stock was French (legally imported) and from which clones have been propagated over the years (www.atarangi.co.nz/ July 2006; Spring Release brochure 2007). Other clones used in the vineyard were, however, more indicative of the New World innovation and experimentation ethos. Ata Rangi's *Célèbre* is believed to contain a minute percentage of 'mad dog' grape juice, which is a variety of grape that has so far defied conventional DNA classification, although it is closely related to Cabernet Franc.

Among other apparently New World innovations that Martinborough winemakers have adopted are pressurised fermentations, stainless steel fermentation vats (often using second-hand beer brewing vats), fermentation and temperature control through use of refrigeration, the introduction of yeast starter cultures, pasteurisation, filtration, cold sterile bottling, different trellising techniques (especially Scott Henry trellising which was developed in California in the 1970's), blending of varieties (e.g. Ata Rangi's popular *Célèbre* is a combination of 35% Merlot, 35% Cabernet Sauvignon and 30% Syrah) and most recently screwcaps to replace corks particularly on white wines (see Cooper 2002: 47). Although many of these innovations originally occurred overseas, especially in Australia and the United States, Martinborough winemakers have been very quick to adopt or at least experiment with them. For example, many Martinborough vineyards maintain small vineyard plots where they experiment with plantings of different clones or varieties of grapes not yet commercially grown in New Zealand. Moreover, it is the winemakers' willingness to combine contemporary developments

with classic French techniques, such as controlling the rate of grape fermentation through pressurisation and refrigeration and then aging the wine in oak barrels to further to enhance wine flavours, which characterises their New World approach to winemaking.

Many Martinborough winemakers are convinced that their wines will become progressively better in quality, especially as their oldest Pinot Noir vines are only 20-25 years old and by comparison many of the great Burgundy vineyards have 100 year and older vines (Robinson 1999: 116). The winemakers also expected that they will acquire greater knowledge of their vineyard's terroir and greater experience of constructively coping with seasonal variations in climate etc and they also note that winemaking technologies continue to advance. When these factors are combined and expressed via the New World wine ethos, and especially with reference to the '*cult of the winemaker*', they primarily highlight the ideals of critical contemplation and progressive forward-planning that are key tenets of ideal reflexive individuality.

Many tourists also regarded the winemakers as free-willed, yet passionate, agents whose personal choices and proclivities in wine (and in lifestyle) were believed to be enacted in an unfettered or autonomous manner. Thus the wines they produced were consequently regarded as highly distinctive and reflective of the personality of the winemaker as well as the specific terroir of the vineyard and of Martinborough in general. Moreover Martinborough winemakers were perceived to dialogically operate between art and science, or between personal sensibility and structural rationality. The ideal winemaker was thus both artisan and technician. Hence, winemakers were widely perceived to epitomise the ideals of reflexive individualism in terms of being highly differentiated or unique, intentionally autonomous, autobiographically aware, dedicated toward ensuring a beneficial future via self-improvement, creatively embracing novelty and who constructively deployed both rational evaluations and passion in these pursuits (Beck 2002; Campbell 1978, 1987; Giddens 1991).

New World potentials

While such practices essentially extol a best of both worlds ethos, most Martinborough winemakers conceded that the Pinot Noir they produced did not match the quality of Grand Cru Burgundy, nor necessarily that of superior Premier Cru (i.e. wine sourced

from second-tier Burgundy appellations). They were, however, typically comforted with the notion that achieving Grand Cru standard was simply a matter of time:

‘Our oldest vines are only 25 years old. They are just babies compared to some of the established vineyards in Burgundy whose vines can be 80, 100 years old... As the vines age their root systems go ever deeper into the ground. The amount of fruit they produce diminishes, yet the flavours they produce in the grapes become increasingly concentrated, complex and truly characteristic of great Pinot... What is so exciting about Martinborough is the high quality of what we have produced so far, but even more so it is the anticipation of what we are going to produce in the future’ (Martinborough winemaker).

Many winemakers were also convinced that the improvements they had, and were continuing to make, in both viticultural and vinicultural techniques would enable them to more consistently produce top quality wines:

“Winemakers returning from visits to the classic wine regions of Europe have often claimed that New Zealand leads the French and Germans in the standard of their winery operations... New Zealand’s late development of interest in wine science allowed the industry to adopt only the established best. An outstanding example is refrigeration, a late arrival on the New Zealand wine scene [and not commonly utilised in French winemaking], but now widely used to stabilise wine and control fermentation” (Cooper 2002: 46).

Martinborough vineyard promotions also extolled how New World science and experimentation was being constructively used in conjunction with the best of Old World practice to establish a viable, yet distinctive, wine industry. Typically these virtues were attributed to the winemaker and to the entangled, overarching philosophies of New World innovation and the *‘French tradition’* that guided their viticultural and vinicultural endeavours:

“The Lintz family history of fine winemaking stretches back seven generations to 1824 and an old family estate in the village of Wawern, on the Saar River, Germany... Chris Lintz, the Winemaker and Managing Director, has carried on this family tradition of successful winemaking at

Lintz Estate. Chris was the first trained viticulturalist and winemaker in the Martinborough area... Chris received his training in Germany, graduating in 1988 with a Winemaking and Viticultural degree following three years of study at the famous Geisenheim Technical Institute in Rheingau, Germany. This followed completion in 1984 of B.S.c Degree from Victoria University of Wellington.

The production of Lintz Estate wines draws not only on Chris' skills and many generations of family tradition, but is also complemented by the latest technological advances" (Lintz Estate Share Prospectus 1998: 4).

"With the Alexanders' original professional background in meteorology, there is strong interest in how both climate and weather influence viticulture and wine style whilst also recognising that vineyard and winery practices are of equal importance in the production of fine wine. With this in mind the vineyard is planted in the long proven European system of high density vines on low trellising with Guyot¹¹⁸ cane pruning" (Alexander Vineyard 1997).

Much of the promotional material conveyed this type of scientific or technical information about the viticultural and vinicultural practices employed by different vineyards, especially in texts on wine tastes and cellaring notes. For example:

"The fruit is carefully sorted during hand harvesting and then whole-bunch pressed. The juice is lightly settled then fermented in French oak barriques using indigenous yeasts. The oak is carefully chosen for elegance to complement the fine structure of the wine. Aged in barrels on lees for 12 months, the wine undergoes full malolactic and lees stirring¹¹⁹...Our

¹¹⁸ The most common form of the Guyot system of cane pruning has two canes and two spurs trained to each side, although the Guyot simple form of cane pruning has only one cane. The principal aim of the Guyot system is to leave six-to-ten bud canes, with a two-bud spur at the base from which the shoots form the cane for the following year (Robinson 1999: 340).

¹¹⁹ Malolactic and lees stirring is essentially a secondary fermentation that converts the malic acid present in all new wine into lactic acid (which has a lower acidity) and carbon dioxide. It is completed by using lactic bacteria usually present in most established wineries or can be introduced in cultured form. Particularly used in red wines produced in cooler climates, which typically display greater acidity, malolactic fermentations can also add flavour – especially the 'buttery' taste that is characteristic of

philosophy is “Handcrafted Excellence in Wine”, and over the years we are proud to have stayed small, consistent and quality driven. We actively promote sustainability, using organic means where possible, to limit impact on our environment and for the future of our industry in New Zealand. The winery and vineyard’s environmental management systems are ISO 14001 accredited” (www.martinborough-vineyard.co.nz, August 2006).

“STOP PRESS: APRIL 2006

ATA RANGI SCOOPS AWARDS at the 2006 BALLANCE FARM ENVIRONMENT AWARDS!

Ata Rangi has won the Supreme Award at the 2006 Ballance Farm Environment Awards, announced in Masterton on 13 April. The vineyard and winery team also walked away with the Gallagher Innovation Award for 'Crimson', the Habitat Improvement Award for their work at the Bush Block and the Hills Laboratory Harvest Award for their organic soil nutrient and water management regime and monitoring...

Ata Rangi is a member of the Living Wine Group¹²⁰ of ISO 14001 accredited wineries. This management standard calls for continual commitment to measure and improve on practises which impact on the environment... also members of SWNZ or Sustainable Winegrowing of New Zealand, which is a voluntary, industry-wide initiative introduced commercially in 1997 and developed to provide a 'best practice' model of environmental practices in the vineyard and winery” (www.atarangi.co.nz, August 2006).

many New Zealand chardonnays. The lactic bacteria essentially feed on the dying yeast cells – or lees – that are stirred to promote the malolactic fermentation process (Webb in Robinson 1999 – 427-428).

¹²⁰ Living Wine is a co-operative society of wineries - Ata Rangi (Martinborough), C J Pask Winery (Hawkes Bay), Martinborough Vineyards (Martinborough), Mission Estate (Hawkes Bay), Palliser Estate (Martinborough), Sileni Estate (Hawkes Bay) and Vidal Estate (Hawkes Bay) – that “has committed publicly to limit the impacts of their vineyards and winery operations on the environment” (www.livingwine.co.nz, August 2006). In February 1998, Living Wine became the first group in the world to attain ISO14001 certification.

These types of promotional narrative clearly aligned New World scientific innovation with the best of European winemaking traditions to affirm and substantiate the production of top-quality wine in Martinborough. In the case of the Lintz Estate promotion, the promotional discourse highlighted the winemaker's apparent generational connection to European winemaking. This advanced a perception of a chronological depth to Lintz Estate's winemaking and hence a historical authentication of wine production reminiscent of the romanticised rural idyll and the correlated construction of a historical, albeit refined and cosmopolitan, metro-rural Martinborough. The promotions also variously linked the idyllic notions of hand-crafted (e.g. "Hand Crafted Excellence") and organic or natural (e.g. "indigenous yeasts") wine production with the perceived authenticating traditions of French winemaking (e.g. "French oak barriques") and the scientific advancements of New World winemaking (e.g. "the Living Wine Group") – and thereby asserted the superiority of Martinborough wines and winemaking on a number of mutually mythological fronts.

Conclusion

The middle class urbanity and ideal reflexive individuality attributed to Martinborough's high-quality wines, winemakers and wine tourists is underscored by the entangled and validating mythologies of the vernacular rural idyll, the '*French tradition*' of fine wine and the pioneering ethos New World winemaking. From the bucolic idealisation of Martinborough's boutique, family-run vineyards and artisan, hand-crafted wines, through to the veneration of the seemingly enduring '*French tradition*' of fine wine production and connoisseurship and the New World promise of evermore consistent quality, the persistent emphasis was on validating the quality of Martinborough's wines and the consequential metro-rural urbanity/ ideal reflexive individuality of the wine producers and tourists.

The mythologisation of the vernacular rural idyll and the '*French tradition*' of fine wine as seemingly enduring arbitrators of urbane distinction effectively cast wine producers and wine tourists as middle class cosmopolitans. These myths also established the mechanisms by which middle class distinction may be further stratified. Thus a wine connoisseur steeped in the palate memory of the great French wines from Burgundy, Bordeaux and Champagne was classified as possessing superior cultural

capital than an individual whose wine career had been limited to '*chateaux cardboard*' experiences. The New World wine ethos of innovation and experimentation, however, provided an equally valid space for the reflexive engagement of wine, which was reflected in the pervasive notion that Martinborough wines are material expressions of a winemaker's unique personality and biography.

In the next chapter I examine how the New World wine ethos colluded with narratives that emphasised a coherent, ideal reflexive self, and with the democratisation and potential singularity of wine consumption (see Chapter 8), to facilitate the valid assertion of tourists' personal wine tastes and reflexive orientations toward social distinction (see Chapter 8), at least in public fora such as wineshops, restaurants and other companionable occasions (e.g. dinner parties, barbeques). I also examine how a nexus of the celebrity adulation of winemakers; innovative New World connoisseurship; the social validation of consumers' personal tastes in wine; and the sociality of vineyard visits, wine purchases and wine consumption similarly highlighted the ideals of reflexive individuality which were assigned to winemakers and desired by tourists.

Chapter Seven:

Wines with Personality

Introduction

Martinborough's tourists routinely uttered narratives and enacted performances of wine production, purchase and consumption that highlighted their dispositional desire for ideal reflexive individuality. The New World '*cult of the winemaker*' and the ethos of innovative winemaking provided a space for local connoisseurs to advocate experimental and eclectic wine consumption. This advocacy legitimised a similar mode of consumption amongst ordinary wine drinkers and also validated their performative assertions of personal wine tastes and ultimately their narratives of ideal reflexive individuality. In a similar vein significant value was accorded to personalised wine recommendations by named experts and from trusted friends or acquaintances. The biographisation of winemakers and their winemaking teams, together with personalised vineyard nomenclature, highlighted the ideal reflexive individuality ascribed to wine production. This was paralleled in the reflexivity of tourists' wine purchases, the sociability of wine consumption, the *communitas* of wine drinkers, and in the tourists' intentional sociality with winemakers and travelling companions.

Celebrity winemakers

For many tourists the boutique character of Martinborough's vineyards and the possibility of meeting a resident winemaker (who often doubled as a vineyard owner), were among the main attractions of a holiday in Martinborough (see Appendix D). As noted, meeting or better still establishing a friendship with a renowned, urbane winemaker was valued by many tourists for the middle class social capital this typically invoked. Furthermore, winemakers were routinely cast as ideal reflexive individuals and thus an intimate relationship with a renowned winemaker could also reflect positively on a tourist's reflexive individuality.

Amongst wine aficionados and many of the wine novices drawn to Martinborough, winemakers of gold medal, critically acclaimed or internationally renowned wines were characteristically accorded celebrity or guru-like status. For example, one

Martinborough winemaker, after a chance meeting and lunch with some regular vineyard clients at the Café Medici, received the following unsolicited note of thanks:

“Dear ... – a note to say how good it was to see you over the weekend. Especially wanted to say (hoping it won’t sound “precious”) that it was a **memorable experience sitting at the long table dans la chambre noire**¹²¹ **with the master – bit of a magic moment for me** and I know the others felt the same” (Female, ‘wine buff’, mid 50’s – emphasis mine).

Winemakers were frequently elevated to the status of celebrity or wine guru. This was not merely articulated by tourists, but was also prevalent amongst wine commentators as evidenced by the following introductions to a winemaker series in a Wellington newspaper: “Larry McKenna, the *prince of pinot*” (The Dominion 1999, March 20:19 – emphasis mine) and “He doesn’t allow tastings at his vineyard, he doesn’t enter shows, but some call him *The Master*. Dr Neil McCallum...” (The Dominion 2000, January 14: 11 – emphasis mine).

Wine tastings hosted by top Martinborough winemakers (e.g. chronological/ vertical tasting of a vineyard’s vintages, comparative tastings between vineyards etc), were very popular amongst tourists and were typically oversubscribed. Lifestyle magazines and similar sections of Wellington newspapers also often featured articles on Martinborough and other New Zealand winemakers, focusing principally on their reflexive biographies, especially on what motivated them to enter the wine industry, and how their personal philosophies were reflected in the wines they produced and the lifestyles they pursued (see below).

Many tourists thus regarded the winemaker, and particularly their palate and philosophies of wine production, as pivotal to the final taste and quality configurations of wine produced in Martinborough:

‘The winemaker makes all the difference. Say you have two vineyards next to each – same soil, same climate – but different winemakers and you get very different wines. The winemaker’s unique personality, their tastes, their techniques are one part of wine making that can never be completely

¹²¹ Rough translation: “in the dark room”, although it is also probably also a play on the notion of *noir* re: Pinot Noir (the dark grape or food)

replicated. Of course, the smaller the vineyard the greater the input by the winemaker and the greater the variations in taste' (Tourist and self-confessed wine buff, male, mid-50's).

Thus the biographisation of Martinborough winemakers, which was a typical narrative feature of vineyard website promotions and which informed numerous magazine articles, not only highlighted their unique personalities and reflexive individuality but also provided a foundation for the biographisation of their wine. This ethos was further advanced by the biographisation of other vineyard workers (see below). For example, the following extracts from the Ata Rangi and Voss Estate website promotions, which contained photographs of the individuals referred to (see Figs.28. & 29.), clearly adulated their winemakers as passionate, purposeful and dedicated artisans with distinct personalities, interests and social connections:

“Clive Paton is the founder of Ata Rangi Vineyard. He bought and planted the original home-block in 1980, and in doing so became one of a handful of people who pioneered grape growing in the area. Clive had formerly been farming in the South Wairarapa but his love affair with red wine and belief in the potential of the area for grape-growing led him to the Martinborough terrace and into Pinot Noir. Clive is right into fitness and sport, with mountain biking his current focus. With a grandfather who'd been an All Black, he was also a keen rugby player in his youth. He once scored a try against the Lions, marking J J Williams, on their regional tour of NZ in 1977, his 'claim to fame'! The conservation and extension of New Zealand's native forest is a real passion. Out of vintage (when not coaching the kids' soccer team) he spends as many weekends as he can cultivating and planting trees at the Bush Block. He lives with Ata Rangi co-owner Phyll Pattie and their children Britt and Mackenzie. Clive's eldest daughter Ness now lives in Nelson with her winemaker husband John Kavanagh” (www.atarangi.co.nz, November 2006).

“Gary studied wine making at Charles Sturt University in Australia and worked four vintages in New Zealand before producing wine from Voss Estate. Prior to this he spent a year working for a prestigious wine

distributor to gain experience in wine sales and marketing. He also oversees the vineyards.

Annette now manages sales and marketing and in her spare time tends the vineyard. Her background includes fisheries research (where she met Gary) and human resources” (www.vossestate.co.nz, November 2006).



Figs.28 & 29. Clive Paton (Ata Rangi) on the left and Gary and Annette Voss (Voss Estate) on the right, as pictured in their respective website promotions.

Many tourists also felt that the combination of boutique vineyards intimately worked by owners/ winemakers resulted in a wine region that was significantly characterised by distinctive vineyards and ‘*unique*’ wines:

‘Martinborough is tiny, yet there are something like 30 plus vineyards here and all of them producing very distinctive wines... it may be predominantly Pinot, but there are 30 very different Pinots all being made within a few miles of each other’ (Tourist and self-confessed wine buff, male, mid-50’s).

Thus Martinborough’s tourists replicated the pervasive New World and New Zealand ethos of the ‘*cult of the winemaker*’, which is fundamentally opposed to the classical French notion of terroir and which casts the winemaker and their palate, production philosophies and personality as crucial in determining the taste and quality of wine:

“New Zealanders tend to worship the winemaker rather than the vineyard. This NEW WORLD phenomenon is in direct contrast to the French view of the primacy of TERROIR. A decade or two will no doubt reveal the

ephemeral nature of the winemakers and permanence of geography, but until that time New Zealand winemakers will continue to be revered by an adoring domestic public” (Campbell in Robinson (ed) 1999: 488 – emphasis in original).

The ‘*cult of the winemaker*’ may in part result from the New Zealand wine industry’s comparatively short history and consequent lack of mainstream appreciation of the role of terroir in winemaking (Campbell in Robinson 1999). Nevertheless it also directly associates the winemaker’s personality, and in particular their winemaking philosophies and palates, with the wines they produce and thus ultimately reproduces and highlights many of the ideals of reflexive individualism. As noted, Martinborough winemakers were routinely promoted and cast by tourists as ideal reflexive individuals and as such were attributed with the virtues of a unique personality, autonomy of thought and action, creativity and innovation, and with a commitment to progressive development in both their professional and domestic lives. Moreover the virtues of uniqueness, innovation and the progressive pursuit of quality were also key ideals in the mythology of New World wine making.

Some tourists suggested that Martinborough’s winemakers were conduits between the essential nature of the area (i.e. soil types, climate, seasonal conditions etc) and the constantly evolving sciences and culture of winemaking. In this respect many regarded the winemaker as an artisan who interprets, nurtures, and refines the best of nature, science, and the culture of wine to produce quality wines that were consequently considered more as works of art than simple commodities.

‘A lot of technical know-how goes into these wines – but there also a lot of individual passion and experience that is winemaker’s alone. You have to taste, think about, and make a lot of wines to become a truly great winemaker. You can’t simply learn that part of winemaking from a book or by doing a degree at university’ (Tourist and self-confessed wine buff, male, mid-50’s).

The veneration by many tourists of a winemaker’s skill and integrity was exemplified by the consequences of its lapse or contravention. For example, Chris Lintz, the founder and winemaker of Lintz Estate (circa 1989), sparked a controversy when he

was ordered to return a gold medal and trophy (winner of best of other reds in show) awarded for his Lintz Estate 1997 Shiraz at the Air New Zealand Wine Awards in 1998. The controversy apparently began at the award dinner, when the renowned international Master of Wine, Oz Clarke from England, noted by sight and smell alone that the Lintz Estate 1997 Shiraz served at the award's dinner was significantly different from that entered for judging in the competition. Chris Lintz maintained the differences in the two bottles was due to picking, pressing, barrelling and bottling grapes from singular rows within his vineyard (rather than the common practice of blending grapes from different rows). Thus the bottle variation was an expression of micro-terroir differences (e.g. in soil, sunlight) occurring within the vineyard (pers. comm.). Subsequent DNA testing of the two wines, however, noted that they varied markedly in alcohol and malic acid content. This variation was most likely to have been caused by grapes picked from genetically different plants that were also grown in distinctly different places. Lintz consequently handed back the gold medal and trophy and apologised. He noted, however, that he had not breached competition rules, which did not state that show wines must be the same as those sold at retail (pers. comm.; The Dominion 1998, December 21: 1).

The controversy occurred soon after Lintz Estate had completed a successful share-float and transformation into a public company, where nearly 1500 investors snapped up \$3.5NZ million worth of shares (the float was oversubscribed by \$500,000NZ). The funds generated were to be used to pay the Lintz family for a share of Lintz Estate and to help the vineyard to expand from 8.5 hectares to just over 50ha. After the float the Lintz family retained 28 per cent of Lintz Estate, the public 72 per cent, and Chris Lintz was offered a 15-year management/winemaker contract (The Dominion 1998, October 14: 15; Wairarapa Times-Age 1998, October 8: 1).

Shortly after the award controversy I spoke with a couple of new Lintz Estate' shareholders and they continued to express faith in Chris Lintz's integrity and in his explanation that the difference between the two wines was due to nuanced terroir variation in the vineyard. Indeed one shareholder was convinced that Chris Lintz had discovered a '*holy grail*' of Shiraz in a small area of the vineyard. In some respects this response reflected the depth of veneration that Martinborough winemakers were

characteristically accorded, although the individual in question may have also been attempting to publicly justify what was considered by many to be a bad investment.

The award saga did, however, have a negative commercial impact on Chris Lintz and Lintz Estate and their wine sales decreased dramatically. By December 2000 the company reported a net loss of \$388,073NZ in addition to a \$569,725NZ loss in the previous year to June 2000. Lintz Estate was apparently unable to sell large quantities of its wine stock and their wines were rumoured to be selling in England for less than \$5NZ a bottle (the controversial Shiraz had retailed at \$29.95NZ) (McIntyre 2002: 282; person. comms.). In February 2001 Chris Lintz had his 15-year contract terminated and shortly afterward Lintz and the Board of Lintz Holdings threatened each other with High Court action. Eventually Chris Lintz left the board and sold his family shares to Wellington investors. A new chief executive was appointed and the company changed its name to Burnt Spur in 2002, which some of the locals call '*Burnt Fingers*' (person. comms; McIntyre 2002: 282; Sunday Star-Times 1999, January 10: D3; The Dominion 2000, January 31: 14 & 2001, April 19: 11). The wine-drinking public had clearly lost faith in Chris Lintz and in the integrity of his wines (person. comm.). Although Chris Lintz as a winemaker fulfilled the criteria of an ideal reflexive individual in that he was autonomous, unique and progressively creative, he was also clearly perceived to have made bad choices and applied his skills to immoral purposes. In this respect, he was consequently cast as a disreputable reflexive individual and his wines being a reflection of his personality were subsequently regraded as untrustworthy.

The '*cult of the winemaker*' was also analogous to the construction of sporting and movie celebrities. This ethos tends to overlook, or at least does not generate the same adulation for, the multitude of individuals who play supportive (if not crucial roles) in the creative efforts of an acclaimed superstar (Gamson 1994). Moreover the focus on a singular person or on distinct entities (e.g. individual members of a rock band) reproduces the institutional individualism that marks post-industrial societies (Beck 2002). For example, the majority of Martinborough's tourists did not typically accord the role of the winemaker's partner (most often the 'wife') the same prominence as the winemaker, even though as already noted the off-site income they generated was often critical to a formative vineyard. Most partners characteristically went on to manage the vineyard's administration, sales and marketing, and hence to supervise the critical areas

of stock ordering, employee management, branding, advertising, export sales etc without widespread public admiration.

Reflexive winemaking teams

The lack of approbation for the work of winemakers' partners, and for other similar 'behind the scenes' vineyard workers, was one of the few instances where commonly-held tourist perceptions did not correspond with the promotional and explanatory narratives of the winemakers. For example, many Martinborough winemakers stated that the work of the viticulturalist was probably the single most important component in the production of good wine. The general refrain amongst the winemakers was that *'good wine is made in the vineyard'* or that if the winemaker was not furnished with *'good grapes - making good wine is impossible'*. Although some Martinborough winemakers also oversaw the viticultural operations on their vineyards, the trend was increasingly for this to be a specialist position and in some respects to be separate from the viticultural endeavours of the winemaker.

Many vineyards regularly promoted the significance of individuals who undertook tasks other than those directly involved in winemaking. For example, under the general headings of "The Team" and "Who's Who", the Ata Rangi website listed three categories – "Wine Makers", "Vineyard Team" and "Marketing Team" (www.atarangi.co.nz, August 2006). Under each category were the photographs of a variety of staff that fulfilled roles within these teams, together with their biographical and occupational details. Under the banner of the "Vineyard Team" (www.atarangi.co.nz, August 2006) was a head and shoulders photograph of the vineyard manager, Gerry Rotman, and of other vineyard staff (www.atarangi.co.nz, August 2006 –see Fig.30.):

"The Vineyard Team...Gerry joined us as Vineyard Manager in October 2004. For Ata Rangi the role is a critical one, and with the huge number of complex vineyards (each with many small plots differentiated by variety, clone, and/or trellis system) and a large team of staff, it's also a very challenging one. Gerry has brought a wealth of skill and experience from his former role as Parks and Recreation Manager for the Carterton District Council, and we feel very lucky to have him on board. ...He's always been a 'plant man' at heart, having started his career with the Wellington Parks

Department before studying for three years at Lincoln College. His enthusiasm, warmth and generosity of spirit are legendary. Gerry has two grown children, Nat and Louie, and is married to Steph who is the creative talent behind Greytown's gorgeous designer clothes shop 'Invest'" (www.atarangi.co.nz, August 2006).

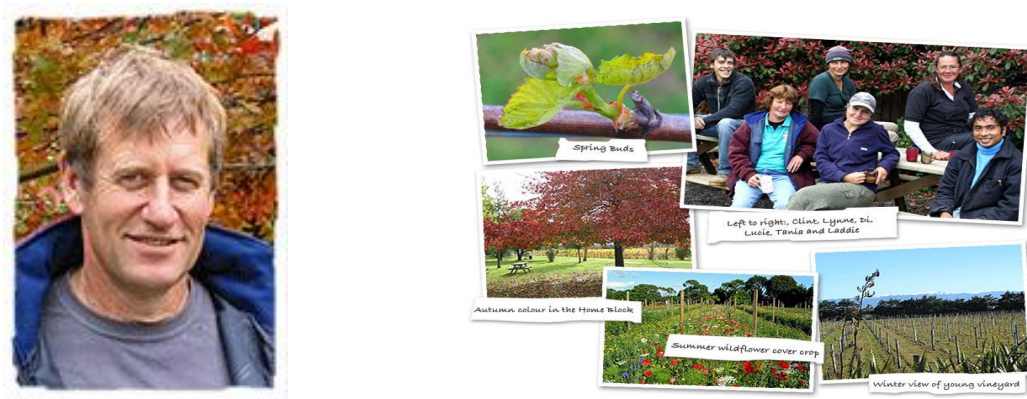


Fig.30. The photographs of vineyard manager Gerry Rotman vineyard workers and other scenes of the Ata Rangi vineyard as depicted on the vineyard's website under the 'Vineyard Team' banner (www.atarangi.co.nz, August 2008).

A total of eight individuals were specifically profiled from the "Founder" of Ata Rangi, Clive Paton, through to the "Head Winemaker" Helen Masters, and her husband, Ben, who is described as "our occasional and amiable weekend winery shop host... [and as] a keen and talented sportsman who plays golf and First Division soccer for the Carterton Waicom team on winter weekends" (www.atarangi.co.nz, August 2006). Similarly the Palliser Estate website profiled eight staff, under the banner heading of "OUR PEOPLE" (www.palliser.co.nz, August 2006), including the managing director, administration manager, winemaker/viticulturist, assistant winemaker/environmental officer, accounts manager, two vineyard managers and the cellar sales manager, Narida Hooper, whose "bright and happy personality keep[s] our cellar door guests well entertained" (www.palliser.co.nz, August 2006).

Some tourists did recognise that the work of partners and other vineyard staff was important, even critical to a vineyard's successful day-to-day operations and development over time. This was offset, however, by the widespread perception that as wine was a dynamic, artisan-like commodity, the winemaker was undoubtedly the

'creative hub' of its production and was therefore most worthy of public acclamation. Some tourists also commented that they believed vineyard administration and management would be similar to their own city-based occupational experiences, although many conceded it would *'nicer to work on a vineyard'* in such a capacity. Therefore by comparison the winemaker was characteristically cast as an exceptional individual by tourists, especially as they believed it was the winemaker's personal creativity and passion that was reflected in the wines they produced.

The biographisation of individuals involved in the production and retail of Martinborough wine compliments the New World wine notion that wines reflect the personality of their winemaker. In addition these biographical narratives associated the production and product of wine with distinct individuals thus reflecting the ideal artisanship of the vernacular rural idyll and a key ideal of reflexive individualism concerning the social recognition (and ideally reward) of individual endeavours. The biographisation of producers and products also constructively complimented the reflexive individuality ascribed to wine purchases, consumption and personalised tastes in wine (see below).

In part, the viticultural/ team promotions reflect a more nuanced understanding of the multifaceted processes that contribute to vineyard operations and the production of wine than is typical of the majority of Martinborough's tourists. There was, however, also a degree to which such promotions recast winemaking as a sort of voluntary group enterprise embarked upon by a collection of biographically differentiated individuals who contribute varied skills, knowledge and passions, but who are essentially drawn together by a shared desire and intent to produce fine wine. The promotions thus attempt to deflect attention away from the elemental wage employment and commodity-production character of Martinborough's wineries. This type of narrative also seeks to personalise the commodity production of wine by highlighting the biographical and occupational contributions of named individuals. Thus the wine produced is not simply a manifestation of the personality of a singular winemaker, but rather it is proclaimed that it reflects the distinct, yet combined, personalities of an individualised winemaking team. The reflexive individuality of winemaking, albeit via a cooperative team of reflexive individuals, is therefore further highlighted and celebrated as integral to the production of fine wine. Moreover such team or 'our

people' narratives, in part, correspond with the romanticised family ethos of the rural idyll in that they emphasise social cohesion, harmony and intimacy (at least at the level of shared interest and aspirations).

Eclectic and reflexive consumption

The ideals of reflexive individualism, the veneration of 'good' winemakers and the New World wine ethos of innovation combined to create a valid social space for experimental and eclectic connoisseurship. New Zealand wine connoisseurs were not stereotypically perceived to be as bound by the appellation considerations and constraints of French connoisseurs and routinely advocated a "wandering drinker" (Demossier 2005: 132) ethos that is emerging amongst wine consumers in France. New Zealand wine critics such as Bob Campbell, Michael Cooper, and Warren Burton (who writes a weekly wine column in *The Dominion Post*, Wellington's daily newspaper) routinely championed experimental consumption and quality assessment of wines sourced from new or previously obscure vineyards, winemakers or wine regions (both domestic and international). Although this form of eclectic connoisseurship is predominantly predicated on the social aspiration of personally discovering a previously unknown, yet top-quality wine, winemaker or vineyard, and thus as a public assertion of one's appreciative wine talents, it resonated with Martinborough's tourists in a number of ways.

Firstly, the advocacy of novelty and risk-taking by such respected wine connoisseurs' effectively legitimised experimental and novel wine consumption amongst 'ordinary' wine drinkers. This is not surprising especially as there are only 265 Masters of Wine internationally and only six of those (including Bob Campbell) are resident in New Zealand (www.masters-of-wine.org, July 2007). Secondly, embracing novelty and innovation as a means of advancing progressive development, which in experimental New World wine consumption can ideally lead to advanced palate experience and the discovery of quality wines, are also ideals attributed to reflexive individualism (see Chapter 2). The spirit of novel wine consumption was particularly obvious in the ethos of bargain hunting that was pervasive amongst both serious and casual wine consumers in Martinborough. Tourists' conversations about wine were frequently littered with personal stories of finding a '*bargain wine*', that is one that is inexpensive but of good or superior quality. Sometimes discussants were coy about revealing the name and

retail source of their bargain discoveries, which only added to the narratives of reflexive discovery and proprietorship that permeated such accounts. Lastly, the legitimisation of novel, experimental and bargain wine consumption amongst connoisseurs and ordinary drinkers also constructively augmented the valid assertion of personal wine tastes and aspirations, especially in conspicuous fora such as vineyard wine shops, restaurant and café dining experiences, and so on.

An individual's capacity to articulate why they liked or disliked a particular wine was at the core of the widespread acceptance of divergent reflexive tastes and orientations towards social distinction (see Chapter 8). One tourist said they regularly read wine reviews so were '*reasonably well-informed*' of which wines were regarded as premium, nevertheless they usually drank '*mid-range wines*' (in terms of price and quality) in an everyday context and more '*expensive wines*' when dining out or celebrating a special occasion. He had, however, recently begun purchasing very inexpensive '*clean skins*',¹²² which are essentially undesignated wines and are not associated with a specific vineyard. He believed these were '*extremely good value*' and in many instances also '*good quality*'. Moreover he greatly enjoyed the novelty or '*surprise value*' of clean skin wines:

'You never know what you're going to get – aside, of course, knowing that it is a red or white wine... when you get a really nice wine it's a real treat, a bit like winning a prize, of course then you start wondering about what vineyard the wine came from – it all adds to the mystery and is quite a lot of fun' (Wine tourist, male, mid 50's, Wellington).

Leaving aside the market imperatives which dialogically create, privilege and then exploit a divergent range of consumers' tastes, the institutional New World validation of a diversity of reflexive assessments of wine does not necessarily contest the widespread recognition of elite wines and the association of high social status accorded to appreciative or affluent consumers, renowned winemakers etc. Rather New World eclecticism and reflexivity of wine consumption is aligned with this elite consumption/ social distinction paradigm through wine drinkers' widespread and simultaneous reproduction of the '*French tradition*' of fine wine which provides a counterbalance by

¹²² Clean skins wines are sold without labels identifying the producer/ winemaker.

endorsing hierarchies of consumption and social distinction. Thus within the totality of wine consumption the dialogic, mutually constructive relationship between hierarchised social distinction and ideal reflexive individualism is cogently made manifest (see Chapter 2).

Word-of-mouth recommendations

Personalised, word-of-mouth recommendations from a satisfied consumer to their friends and acquaintances, or from a named and respected wine critic such as Bob Campbell, were highly prized by many Martinborough winemakers:

'Word-of-mouth is about the best publicity we can get, especially if it is from someone influential in the wine industry, or if it's from a friend whose opinions you trust and respect... a good buzz can be passed around a large number of people very quickly. Of course, the opposite can also happen and a bad review can really hit hard' (Martinborough winemaker).

A significant number of tourists also explained how recommendations from friends, or from individuals whose tastes they trusted (e.g. wine critics, work colleagues), often influenced their choices or prompted them to visit specific vineyards to sample their produce. One tourist told said he *'knew absolutely nothing about wine'*, yet by simply purchasing on the recommendations of his business partner he had amassed a wine cellar of more than 500 bottles that included a wide representation of top quality New Zealand and Australian wines. With his business partner he had also bought, en primeur, a barrel of *Charmes Chambertin Grand Cru* (Pinot Noir) that would not be bottled until 2006 and for which they had already been offered more than double their original purchase price (see Chapter 8). Other tourists spoke of how they regularly read wine reviews or discussed wine with friends and acquaintances to share information about good, new or bargain wines:

'We are always talking wine at dinner parties or when simply out enjoying a meal... we talk about wines that we have enjoyed or have heard about – both good and bad. I suppose it is one of the main ways I keep up with the play'
(Wine tourist, male, mid-30's, real estate agent).

Word-of-mouth recommendations (or condemnations) from a friend or a trusted named individual (e.g. a respected wine critic or winemaker) essentially existed within the interdependent frameworks of basic trust and pure relationships (Giddens 1991). A

personalised recommendation is, in the first instance, framed by the paradigm of basic trust, which is the key component within pure relationships. Thus a personal recommendation from a reflexively valued other reproduces the ideals of institutionalised relations and intimate social relationships in late modernity.

Interestingly Martinborough and New Zealand wines were not promoted by association with celebrities such as movie stars or famous sports people that were external to the wine and the associated food/ hospitality industries. Such celebrity endorsements are routine for other commodities (e.g. the actress and acclaimed ‘beauty’ Catherine Zeta-Jones has endorsed T-mobile phones, Elizabeth Arden cosmetics, and the Visa credit card). As noted, wine is often characteristically promoted as an extension or expression of a celebrity winemakers’ personality. Wine is also associated with elite social events, restaurants etc and thus is to a lesser extent sometimes associated with celebrity chefs. Assertions of wine quality are likewise widely perceived to be highly reflexive and subjective, especially as wine consumers are typically confronted by a bevy of differing assessments and evaluations from knowledgeable wine critics, wine judges and from other consumers. Therefore, for an endorsement of wine quality to be trusted it must come from two principal sources – a biographised connoisseur (Douglas 1987: 9), who is a named and knowledgeable individual and whose subjective assessments are recognised as expert; or from a known and trusted acquaintance (i.e. a wine erudite colleague or friend who is ideally conversant with one’s subjective wine tastes).

In contrast movie or sporting celebrity typically endorse a variety of commodities that are not specific to their field of speciality (e.g. watches, cars, pens etc) and which may readily be consumed by non-specialists or non-celebrities. Ordinary individuals may therefore seek to emulate a celebrity’s lifestyle and fashion aesthetics by consuming the endorsed commodity (Braudy 1986; McCracken 1990; Williamson 1978). The ordinary individual is able to effectively assess the material usefulness of the product as it typically forms part of a cluster of commodities they characteristically consume in their everyday lives. The production and evaluation of the worth (i.e. quality and taste characteristics) of a specific wine is, however, a matter of personalised experience and expertise, which is invariably subject to institutionalised contestment by a bevy of wine makers, critics, connoisseurs and ordinary drinkers alike. In the first instance the most experienced and valued recommendations must therefore come from wine ‘celebrities’

– that is winemakers, critics, connoisseurs and others whose fame is directly related to their renowned experience and performances within wine’s fields of action. Thus accepting another’s evaluation of a wine is an issue of basic trust that ideally emanates from a named or personalised wine expert, or at least from a trusted friend. Wine recommendations therefore not only resonate with some of the key ideals of reflexive individuality, namely of unique, coherent, passionate and analytical perspectives, but are also framed within the ideals of pure relationships that reflexive individuals seek both within the institutional settings of late-modernity (e.g. with one’s personal physician) but also with reflexive intimates.

Personalised vineyards

Another way in which winemaking was personalised or individualised was through the naming of vineyards. Some Martinborough vineyards were named after local geographical sites, for example, Dry River,¹²³ Martinborough Vineyard and Palliser Estate.¹²⁴ This nomenclature not only emulates the French tradition established in 1660 of naming an individual wine chateaux after a local area or a distinct local geographical feature¹²⁵ (see Chapter 5), but likewise localises the vineyard and thus associates discrete vineyards with the distinctiveness that is often attributed to particular places (e.g. the idyllic rurality of Martinborough; the sublime wilderness of nearby Palliser Bay). Geographical nomenclature also denotes grounded permanence, longevity or a natural association with a distinct locale.

Other vineyards were named in Maori, which in the first instance clearly identified them as distinctively New Zealand phenomena and through reference to local Maori mythology also embedded the vineyards in the locale specificity of Martinborough and the surrounding area. For example, Nga Waka is named after Nga Waka A Kupe (a great Polynesian explorer), which translates as “the Canoes of Kupe” (McIntyre 2002:

¹²³ Dry River references an area just south of Martinborough where one of the earliest Wairarapa sheep stations (c. 1877) was established.

¹²⁴ Palliser Estate references Cape Palliser, which is the southern-most-point of the North Island of New Zealand, noted for its spectacular scenery and bird/ seal colonies, and approximately 60 miles south of Martinborough.

¹²⁵ The oldest continuously operated vineyard in New Zealand, Te Mata Estate, follows this tradition. The vineyard was founded in 1892 by John Chambers, an English blacksmith, on a small part (approximately 19 hectares) of his Te Mata Station that he established in 1854. Chambers had christened his farm and winery in recognition of the good relations he enjoyed the local iwi, Ngati Kahungunu, from whom he purchased his land. Te Mata was a renowned Ngati Ira warrior and the nearby peak of Te Mata is also named after him (Stewart 1997).

16). According to Maori mythology Kupe's waka are believed to have formed the three hills that lie side by side like upturned canoes and which form the eastern backdrop for Martinborough (McIntyre 2002: 16). The English translations of other Maori designations clearly had significance for the vineyard founders. For example, Ata Rangi translates as "the new beginning" or as "dawn sky" (www.atarangi.co.nz, August 2006), while Te Kairanga translates as "where the soil is rich and the food is plentiful" (McIntyre 2002: 264).

There were a number of Martinborough vineyards, however, that more directly referenced, and hence highlighted, the personality of their owners or founders. Many of Martinborough's vineyards were named after the surname of their founder, a practice that also emulated the historical French model of naming wine chateaux after the family that founded, and ideally generationally maintains, a vineyard. For example, Burings of Martinborough (established in 2002 by Chris Buring); Chifney Wines (founded by Stan Chifney in 1979 – sold in 2000 to Margrain Vineyard); Delamere and Benfield (established by Sue Delamere and Bill Benfield in 1987); Haythornthwaite Wines (founded by Mark Haythornthwaite in 1991); Porters Vineyard (planted by Annabel and John Porter in 1992); Stratford Wines (established by Stratford Canning and Carla Burns in 1993); and Voss Estate (founded by Gary Voss and Annette Atkins in 1987). Using a family surname to name an individual vineyard specifically articulates, and over time continues to reaffirm, the enduring generational and historical tenure of a specific vineyard. Thus the vineyards, their winemakers and the wines they produce, are by association ideally promoted as the beneficiaries of many generations worth of progressive development. They are also aligned with the enduring historicity and authenticity ascribed to the vernacular rural idyll, Martinborough's historical buildings and to the '*French tradition*' of fine wine.

The Martinborough vineyards that are named after the family name of their founders have all been established by individuals with young families who possess the possibility of raising new, youthful generations of winemakers to effect generational vineyard succession – although to date there have been no long-lived successions in Martinborough. As the first vineyards in Martinborough were established a mere 26 years ago, only two have passed between generations – Chifney Wines after the death its founder Stan Chifney in 1996 and a year later, Blue Rock Vineyards after its

founders Nelson and Beverly Clark decided to retire due to health-related problems. In both cases primary control of the vineyards was passed on to the founders' middle-aged daughters (and in case of Chifney Wines also to Stan's widow Rosemary), who found it difficult to maintain the long hours of arduous, physical labour that are required to successfully operate a labour-intensive, boutique vineyard (pers. comm.). Consequently Murdoch James Estate acquired Blue Rock Vineyards in 1998 and Chifney Wines was sold and incorporated into the neighbouring Margrain Vineyard in 2000.

Nevertheless, some of Martinborough's vineyards were purposefully generational enterprises. For example, Ata Rangi, which has established itself as one of New Zealand's premier producers of Pinot Noir,¹²⁶ was founded by Clive Paton in 1980. Then Clive married Phyll Pattie in 1989. A winemaker herself, Phyll invested her life savings in Ata Rangi and became an equal shareholder with Clive. Around the same time Clive's sister also invested in Ata Rangi and after she married Olly Masters in late 1989, Ata Rangi was jointly owned by the four relatives:

'We continually get approached by investors wanting to buy into the vineyard, but we are committed to remaining a family vineyard. Once you get shareholders in you are answerable to them and you lose control over your product. I also want to leave something for our kids in the future' (personal. comm.).

At a basic level the naming of a vineyard is obviously intended to commercially differentiate one vineyard from another. In Martinborough, however, the practice has further evolved to naming vineyards after the Christian names of their founders, for example, Alana Estate (circa 1992) which is named after Alana Smart, one of the founding owners together with her husband Richard Smart (www.alanaestate.co.nz/history, November 2006). Elsewhere in New Zealand the naming practice sometimes includes both Christian names and surnames. For example, Danny Schuster (Amberley, North Canterbury), Allan Scott (Blenheim), Kim Crawford (Gisborne), Kathy Lysley (Blenheim), and David Papa (Huapai, Auckland). The practice of using clearly identifiable personal names in part reflects the lifestyle ethos of many of New

¹²⁶ Ata Rangi's 1993, 1994 and 1999 vintages won the coveted Bouchard–Finlayson Trophy for best Pinot Noir at the International Wine and Spirit Competition in London.

Zealand's vineyards. According to the respected wine critic and Master of Wine, Jancis Robinson, the term lifestyle winery was first coined in New Zealand to describe:

“A small winery established and run, typically by an educated young to middle-aged couple who have access to funds generated by another career, more for its bucolic appeal than as a strictly commercial proposition” (1999: 406).

Small in size and dedicated to the rural-based, pleasure-seeking lifestyle of wine production and consumption, New Zealand's boutique vineyards are often intimately associated with their winemakers or founders, and this association is an integral component of the '*cult of winemaker*'. Clearly this individualised association is influenced by the fact New Zealand's wine industry is relatively new and the opportunity for generational vineyards to be established over time has been accordingly limited. Naming a vineyard after either the Christian or the full name (Christian and surname) of its founder is also designed to highlight the link or relationship between specific, named people and their vineyards in a way that at once reflexively humanises and personalises the commodities they produce.¹²⁷

Differently named vineyards and their wines are not only commercially differentiated from another, but they are also often closely associated with distinct individuals. The connotation is that, like these exceptional persons, the vineyards and wines produced are also matchless and not simply derivative variations on the common themes of viticulture and viniculture. Any individual who purchases and consumes a personalised wine potentially enters into a social relationship with the winemaker that is akin to a friendship, or at least is an association between two equally reflexive individuals. Thus both wine producer and consumer are effectively enabled to transcend the social alienation that customarily marks similar economic transactions in post-industrial societies (Carrier 1990, 1994), maintain the sociability narrative that is commonly associated with wine consumption (see below) and to reproduce the unique personality narratives of ideal reflexive individualism.

¹²⁷ In the case of the naming of Alana Estate there is also a further veneration of the perceived feminine characteristics of wine that are often bestowed by, and inexorably linked with, an equally feminised, 'Mother Nature'.

Reflexive purchases

The personalisation of wine was further evident when Martinborough tourists purchased, and in some cases consumed, wine at the vineyard of production. As noted, acts of individually selecting and purchasing wine in the leisured, metro-rural setting of Martinborough vineyard not only facilitated ideal enactment of personal tastes, but were also performative displays of the nexus of middle class distinction and ideal reflexive individuality. Indeed Solstone Estate in Masterton, approximately 40kms north of Martinborough, provided their consumers with particularly reflexive wine purchases, namely “Celebration” labels on their wine bottles that could feature personally written texts and designs, which the vineyard described as “The greatest Personalised Gift in the World” (see Fig.31.).



Fig.31. The Solstone Estate Winery billboard advertising personally designed wine labels as “The Greatest Personalised Gift in the World”

Palliser Estate in Martinborough also released a batch of similarly personalised wines in 1997 to celebrate the 125th anniversary of Pain & Kershaw’s, a local general store first established by George Pain in 1872 and which has been run by generations of Kershaws since 1889. Pain & Kershaw’s current managing director, David Kershaw, was also a shareholder of Palliser Estate (see Fig.32.).

Fig.32. The Palliser Estate wine labelled to commemorate Pain & Kershaw's 125th Jubilee.

As noted the reflexive individuality of tourists was manifested via their performative, socially validated display of personal choices and tastes, and was further augmented by the conspicuous and reflexive sociality (e.g. sharing wine narratives and wine with friends during vineyard visits etc) that was typical within consumption settings in Martinborough (see below). These core acts of wine tourism, quite apart from the leisured experiences of rurality or other cosmopolitan endeavours, were the primary motivation for most tourists to visit Martinborough (see Appendix D). Thus for many tourists visiting and buying wine at the 'vineyard door' was a '*special occasion*' on a number of levels and not surprisingly many could fondly recall their first, or other notable visits, to a Martinborough vineyard:

'Every time I open a bottle of Ata Rangi Sauvignon Blanc I remember the first time I visited the vineyard and first tasted this wine...I can smell the grass and feel the sunshine, and of course I can remember who I was with and the picnic we enjoyed at the vineyard' (Female tourist, late 30's, Wellington-based).

'I can clearly remember the first time I visited Martinborough and I sampled a Martinborough Vineyard Chardonnay... I'll never forget the experience, the taste was something I had never experienced before - it changed my whole orientation toward wine and I've been a real fan of Martinborough wines ever since' (Male, mid 50's, Christchurch based).

Thus an individual's reflexive consumption of wine could metonymically act as a nostalgic device deployed to recall an initial purchase or sampling that was a life-altering experience or invoked fond memories of a holiday picnic shared with friends. A significant number of tourists, who whilst sampling and purchasing wines in the wine shop, spontaneously reminisced about the fine wines, memorable holidays or pleasurable social occasions they had previously enjoyed or were planning with their friends. The distinct impression was that the tourists were not simply acquiring wines to cellar, but that by purchasing the wines at the vineyard they were also personally constructing, and in a very poignant sense 'laying down', reflexively affirmative and valued memories for future reference. This, together with the vintage ethos of wine production, suggests that ephemerality and nostalgia were core components of in-situ, reflexive wine purchases and consumption (see Chapter 5).

Purchasing wine in-situ was thus a fundamentally different or extraordinary experience, especially in terms of sociality and commodity encounter, compared to the alienated functionality or ordinariness of buying wine at an urban retail outlet. Indeed the potential to '*meet the winemaker*' and establish a rapport with this renowned individual was not only prized for obtaining the '*inside word*' (e.g. which wines were considered premium) and for the social distinction that such an association could generate, but it also effectively personalised the commodity and its purchase: '*It is really nice to put a human face to the wine*' (Wine tourist, female, mid-50's, Wellington-based). Many tourists also sought to biographise the winemaker and their wine, stating that they enjoyed listening to the winemaker's stories – especially those concerning the development (historical and anticipated) of the vineyard and biographical or lifestyle particulars (e.g. why they became a winemaker or how vineyard work facilitates the winemaker's family life). A number of homestay operators, both self-contained and bed-and-breakfast, also noted that guests liked to '*sit and talk over breakfast*'. Some said they had developed friendly relationships with guests (including Wellington-based

and international tourists), many of who had invited the homestay operators to reciprocally holiday at their domestic residences:

'I think some of our guests simply want to sit and talk with someone even though they are on holiday with each other [i.e. as couples]. They are often very interested in our place and the farm and what motivated us to set up a homestay. I think they simply enjoy the company that they wouldn't get if staying in a hotel in Wellington or Auckland' (Homestay operator, female, late 50's).

None of the homestay operators had, however, accepted these reciprocal offers: *'It just wouldn't feel right, after all at the end of the day they are paying to stay with us'* (Homestay operator, female, late 50's). Nevertheless there was a prevalent ethos amongst tourists to attempt to personalise their commodity consumption and with respect to holiday accommodation this could be as simple as regularly staying in the same place:

'We always stay at the same place, both for Toast Martinborough and at other times during the year. We couldn't afford to own our own place over here, though I suppose in many ways this place now feels like our home away from home' (Tourist, female, Wellington resident).¹²⁸

Leisured reflexive consumption

Buying wine at a vineyard was not only a performative display of personal choice and hence a conspicuous assertion of reflexive individuality that is characteristic of commodity purchases in a variety of settings (McCracken 1990; Sweetman 2003), but as a form of leisured (and what's more luxury) shopping experience it also signified an enhanced experience of the ideal reflexive self. If the materiality (Miller 1989) of any commodity is a significant factor in its social and individual consumption paradigms, so

¹²⁸ I owned a self-contained homestay, Rose Cottage, which is situated approximately 10km from Martinborough on the main route from nearby Greytown. Like many of the Martinborough homestays, Rose Cottage attracted a significant number of tariff-paying regulars (who accounted for approximately 40% of annual stays) and many of these proprietarily refer to the place as *'our cottage'* (i.e. as their cottage), some phoned me simply to have a 'friendly chat' about my family, how the cottage is faring etc, and others have carried out minor work at the property such as chopping wood, weeding gardens, washing their linen and remaking the beds, and even offering to mow the lawns. Many guests, including one-off customers, regularly left notes in the cottage after their stays to thank me for *'sharing'* Rose Cottage with them or for *'allowing them'* to stay.

too must be the mode of purchase. As places of consumption have been purposely transformed into enchanted spaces in attempts to overcome the banality of standardised products and service (Ritzer 1998, 2005), acts of purchase may also be enchanted – either by taking place in an enchanted or thematic space or via the circumstances that prompts acquisition. For example, buying wine for a special occasion such as to celebrate a job promotion or to enjoy at a romantic meal, qualifies as an enchanted act of purchase that is differently experienced and distinguished from the buying a bottle of wine to simply drink with an everyday meal. Many tourists reported that they typically purchased a *‘special bottle’* of wine (i.e. more expensive or critically acclaimed) to mark a momentous occasion.

In-situ purchases of wine at Martinborough vineyards were regarded by many tourists as special occasions in their own right, either by virtue of being a *‘holiday treat’* or as an integral part of an *‘annual visit’* to sample a vineyard’s latest vintage. Many said they often *‘spent more’* when buying wine in-situ in response to, or as way of marking, the extraordinariness of the occasion. As most tourists were in the company of reflexive intimates, the act of purchase on the vineyard was typically a highly social event, one which often involved banter about the merits of various wines and a great deal of reciprocal social grooming (i.e. personal conversations that reflected and maintained connectedness). Some individuals took advantage of these circumstances to display their individual wine knowledge and accordant cultural capital, either by instructing less knowledgeable travelling companions in matters of wine taste, styles and the comparative quality of different vineyard’s wines – or by entering into similar conversations with wine shop hosts or winemakers. The in-situ and leisurely purchase of good quality, comparatively expensive Martinborough wines thus provided tourists with an extraordinary or enchanted opportunity to enact their ideal middle class and reflexive selves:

‘Coming to Martinborough and visiting the vineyards is always a special treat me and my husband. We’re able to relax, unwind and really enjoy ourselves... of course, we always spend more than we should, but what the hey – if you can’t treat yourself on holiday when can you?’ (Tourist, female, mid 40’s, Wellington-based).

There was a prevalent ethos that the touristic purchase and consumption of wine was a wholly autonomous or individualistic act of leisured consumption. This was, in part, reflected in the tourists' conversations about their occupational, domestic and everyday social experiences which were frequently punctuated with complaints of individual constraint and compulsion. For example, many tourists complained about occupational time demands, or about the social demands of raising dependent children. Conversely these tropes of individual restriction or loss of autonomy did not feature as frequently in the tourists' discourses about their Martinborough holiday or in discussions about their recreational activities in general. Some tourists did complain about the vineyards closures or unavailability of out-of-stock wines (see Chapter 3). A few individuals (predominantly women) also complained about the social obligations they experience when holidaying in Martinborough, usually concerning being compelled to follow the recreational pursuits of their partners. Nevertheless most tourists cast their in-situ, leisured consumption of Martinborough wine as especially reflective of their personal choices and tastes, and thus the act of purchase was also a highly reflexive endeavour.

Performative sociability

Tourists not only enjoyed the reflexive purchase of vineyard wines and the companionship of their personally selected travelling companions, but sometimes also celebrated personally significant occasion (e.g. birthdays, weddings etc) when holidaying in Martinborough. Some vineyards (e.g. Alana Estate, Te Kairanga and Ata Rangi) could be booked for corporate functions or weddings that were accommodated in large marquees overlooking their picturesque vineyards (see Fig.33.). Weddings may be especially personal and momentous occasions. Accordingly vineyards were attuned to highlighting the sociability facilitated by the enchanted consumption of their commodities (e.g. wine and idyllic vineyard etc) and consequently the ideal reflexive individuality of the wedding participants:

“A wedding at Alana Estate combines the flavours of Martinborough, the vineyard, superb wines and cuisine tailored to **your requirements**. Our chef Ian Garner oversees every detail of the menu selection and in conjunction with our wine maker, will devise a menu which perfectly matches together the wine and food. This will be a wedding celebration for **you and your guests** to remember. A wedding amongst the vines is a very special occasion

and we do everything we can to ensure the wedding will **exceed your expectations**” (www.alana.co.nz, August 2006 – emphasis mine).

Fig.33. A wedding at Te Kairanga. The historic cottage and wine shop is to the right, while the happy couple arrived in a vintage car.

The vineyards were often purposefully staged to encourage and facilitate forms of sociability that highlighted tourists’ reflexive individualism. These settings were also simultaneously embedded within the mythologies of the rural idyll and the social distinction of wine. For example, Margrain Vineyards provided vineyard accommodation that promised a “unique vineyard experience ... stay 'amongst the vines' on a vineyard dedicated to producing fine wines” (www.margrainvinyard.co.nz, October 2007). Furthermore, Margrain Vineyard’s in-situ wine shop and café, which is situated on the site of Chifney Vineyard, also had outdoor tables and chairs positioned on a small plateau affording a panoramic view of the vineyard.

In addition most Martinborough vineyards, with the notable exception of Dry River, provided cellar door sales at some time during the year, typically from a designated wine shop which was situated on the vineyard. Many of the wine shops symbolically referenced a nexus of the cosmopolitanism and elite social distinction of wine; the bucolic appeal of wine production; the enduring historicity of rurality; and in some

instances, the intimate and reflexive associations between producers and consumers. For example, Martinborough Vineyard's wine shop was designed to emulate a wine barrel. According to the Martinborough Vineyard's promotional material the wine shop:

“Reflects [their] dedication to World class wines. It is in close proximity to the Winery and Barrel Room and offers a warm and intimate introduction to the Martinborough Vineyard passion ... great wine!” (www.martinborough-vineyard.co.nz, August 2006).

Te Kairanga's wine shop (see Fig.33.) was called “The Cottage” (www.tekairanga.co.nz, August 2006) and was reputed to be the 140-year-old home of a senior stockman of John Martin (eldest son of the founder of Martinborough). Described as “a classic farm cottage design of its time made from totara wood milled from the [Puruatanga] farm” (www.tekairanga.co.nz, August 2006), it has apparently “housed several local personalities as well as the wonderful New Zealand poet Sam Hunt” (www.tekairanga.co.nz, August 2006). Ata Rangi's wine shop was designed to resemble a *‘rustic farm building’* (pers. comm.). The outside cladding was of rough hewn, stained wooden weatherboards and the roof was iconic corrugated iron. In addition there were two seats provided for the tourists, one made from natural or unprocessed timbers (see Fig.34.) and the other a church pew, which symbolised the ascribed sacredness or religiosity of wine (Howland 2004: 103-112).

Fig.34. The rough-hewn, natural bench outside the Ata Rangi wine shop. Under the balcony is a church pew, which signifies the entangled, implicit religiosity of wine and ideal reflexive individuality (Howland 2004: 105-110)

The interiors of wine shops typically featured large displays of a vineyard's wines, tasting benches, wine paraphernalia (e.g. corkscrews, wine barrels) and walls adorned with plaques of wine awards and acclamatory reviews. Also often featured were letters of recommendation or thanks and sometimes gifts from grateful customers, especially those from notable persons. For example, in the Ata Rangi wine shop there were two, pottery plates featuring wine terminology displayed on one wall and these were gifted by Roderick Deane, former Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank and Chairman of Telecom, in appreciation of Ata Rangi's wine. Thus in a manner similar to the way restaurants are constructed as the "architects of desire" (Finkelstein 1989: 3), conspicuous consumption localities such as vineyards and wine shops were performative, highly symbolic settings in which individualised and fashionable aspirations were continuously created, evaluated and negotiated (Finkelstein 2004). Such places were not only performative settings for the creation and display of social distinctions based on the differential deployment of various social, economic and cultural capitals, but were also staged to facilitate ideal assertions of reflexive individuality and sociality by winemakers and tourists alike.

The touristic framing of Martinborough as a romantic and friendly locale created an anticipation that a Martinborough holiday would be an enchanted setting for individuals to indulge in ideal reflexive sociality. Performative and conspicuous settings also included the intimate homestays that were shared with one's lover or with groups of friends, the sidewalk cafés near Martinborough's town square, restaurant dining rooms, retail shops, the picnic spots and cafés on local vineyards and the well-travelled pedestrian routes between the vineyards that tourists were characteristically encouraged to traverse by the staff at the Martinborough Information Centre. This framing colluded with the pervasive notion of reflexive intentionality, 'feel good' and basic trust ideals of pure relationships to establish exemplary models of performative sociality. As such within Martinborough's performative settings the ideals of intimacy, conviviality and reflexive intentionality were clearly displayed and in many respects reflected the ideal sociability of family holidays (Haldrup & Larsen 2003) while also highlighting idealised social contributions and roles (Goffman 1969). Thus I often observed couples walking hand-in-hand, talking intimately and sometimes cuddling or kissing both on the vineyards and on public walkways. I also routinely observed groups of friends laughing and overheard them exchange narratives that evidenced their camaraderie,

both historically and in terms of anticipatory plans for future shared experiences. In cafés and restaurants romantic couples and groups of friends often reciprocally shared food and drink. Indeed on many occasions I observed individuals '*shout*' (i.e. pay for) their friends' dinners or drinks. Typically recipient friends would respond with narratives that highlighted how the gifting individual's generosity was a reflection of the depth of affection within their friendship, or that it was undertaken to reciprocate previous displays of generosity.

In such settings many tourists emphasised the reflexivity of their sociability. For example, many said that a Martinborough holiday was an ideal opportunity to spend '*quality time*' with reflexive intimates, with many female tourists noting that the touristic '*freedom*' from cooking, bed-making and other aspects of domesticity effectively meant they had more time to be sociable. Many tourists who stayed at Martinborough homestays stated that they when they did cook breakfast or dinner this tended to a '*social affair*' with their travelling companions all '*pitching in*'. Moreover such endeavours were typically accompanied by lots of sociable drinking and conversation. Similar narratives were expressed by tourists travelling with family, including older generations and dependent children:

'We love staying at [homestay]. There is room for the kids to run around and my parents really enjoy walking around the garden. We often come over with my cousin and her family, and it is great to see the kids playing together and all of us really taking time to catch up. Often we are so busy in town [i.e. Wellington] that family catch-ups are really just quick hellos and goodbyes' (Female, mid-40's, Wellington resident, self-employed).

The degree to which such performative displays of sociality were ideally exhibited was also evidenced by the irregularity of public displays of conflict and by the tourists' responses to such instances. I only observed a few occasions where couples or friends were clearly arguing in public and in all such situations one or more of their travelling companions intervened with statements that essentially asserted that everyone was '*on holiday*' and that consequentially they should simply '*chill out*' and '*enjoy themselves*'. This was also common refrain to misbehaving or bored children, with parents extolling them to behave and enjoy themselves with statements such as '*come on we're all on holiday*'. The tourists were therefore reproducing Martinborough as an enchanted site

of leisured sociability and were also conforming to the performative disciplines this generates by attempting to ensure their conspicuous displays of sociality were devoid of any obvious conflict or tension. Of course, I can only speculate as to what occurred behind the closed doors of Martinborough's homestays and hotel accommodation. Similarly I was not typically privy to what was said in public in whispered conversations or what was meant in the meaningful glances exchanged between intimates in public settings. I assume, however, that in many instances these reflected a continuum of sociality ranging from the ideals of harmony and cohesiveness through to conflictual interactions.

Host winemakers

Martinborough's winemakers or founders were often ascribed the role of host to the tourists who were consequently cast as guests. The promotional literature of many of the vineyards explicitly signalled an expectation of social intimacy or special friendship between winemaker and consumer:

"We hope to catch up with you one way or another this summer; let's hope it's sunny and Y2K glitch-free... All good wishes from the team" (Ata Rangi, 'Spring Release' 1999).

"Once again we will be open for cellar door sales... Enjoy one of Graham's famous VIP tours of Margrain cellars, and explore the rest of Martinborough at your leisure. We look forward to seeing you and showing you a range of wines of which we are immensely proud... Best regards, Strat Canning, Winemaker" (Margrain Vineyard, 'Tasting Notes' 1998).

"One day we hope to welcome you to our place. In the meantime, come on in and get to know us and our wine a little better" (www.tekairanga.co.nz, August 2006).

The assertion of host-guest relationships is, however, often intentionally invoked to symbolically transcend or obscure the anonymity and social detachment of touristic commodity exchanges (Smith 1989). Accordingly the relationship that many tourists sought with Martinborough winemakers and homestay operators was not only akin to friendship and hence transcended the functionality of everyday commodity exchange,

but the commodity production/purchase relationship was in many respects aligned with gift exchange (Hermann 1997) and thus implied an on-going, reciprocal social connectedness. Indeed many winemakers reported receiving gifts or notes of thanks from appreciative, yet paying, customers and as noted those received from VIPs were sometimes displayed in wine shops, in part to also associate the wine produced with esteemed individuals and thereby ostensibly demonstrating the product's high status or value. Winemakers also reported that they regularly gave gifts of their wine to friends, some of whom had initially been customers. Although many stated that these friendships were not simply based on a shared interest in wine, but also included other shared pursuits or concerns:

'I've met some really interesting people through selling them wine... a few have become friends in that we share interests beyond wine, although we still obviously enjoy drinking and talking wine' (Martinborough winemaker).

Both winemakers and tourists, in seeking to establish friendly relationships, were operating within the idealised idioms of social intimacy as ascribed by both the rural idyll and the aspirations of pure relationships (Giddens 1991). Thus a friendly relationship between winemaker and tourist transcended the social sterility typical of much commodity production/ purchase interactions and thus sought to emulate the friendship between named and known individuals and thus also potentially emphasised the reflexive individuality of all interacting participants. Moreover it also reflected an aspiration and ideal of sociability frequently perceived to be generated by the wine industry. As one Martinborough winemaker told me:

'The wine industry is very sociable... many of our customers become friends over time and there is a lot of friendships and cooperation in the industry itself' (pers. comm.).

Martinborough winemakers also regularly borrowed equipment and sought advice from each other. For example, the first vintages of Dry River, Waihenga Vineyard, Te Kairanga and Ata Rangi were made in Stan Chifney's winery utilising his crusher and press. Dry River and Martinborough Vineyard built wineries in 1985, Ata Rangi in 1986 and Te Kairanga in 1988 (McIntyre 2002: 266). In fact on one Martinborough vineyard members from a wine club in Wellington voluntarily harvested grapes every

vintage. The initial connection between the vineyard and wine club was made through the father of one of winemakers and who was a member of the club. However, the relationship has evolved, so that:

'We now know these people personally, they have all become our friends... besides helping us out every vintage, they have a very enjoyable time amongst themselves picking grapes and socialising over the weekend. Of course we make sure to look after them very well' (Martinborough winemaker).

As noted many of the pioneer winemakers were also attracted to Martinborough, in part, because of their friendships with each other and their mutual attraction to wine making. Both Dr Neil McCallum (founder of Dry River) and Dr Derek Milne (founder of Waihenga Vineyard) were members of Danny Schuster's wine club. Further, Dr Derek Milne and his wife Sue were joined in their winemaking enterprise by his brother, Duncan and his wife, Claire Campbell, and also by Russell Schultz, a pharmacist from the Hutt Valley near Wellington, who had been introduced to Derek by Dr McCallum. Moreover, Schultz knew Stan Chifney and mentioned to him that people were interested in Martinborough as a potential wine-growing area. On this recommendation Chifney and his wife Rose, who had long harboured viticultural aspirations, ventured over to Martinborough and in 1980 bought 10 acres on Huangarua Road on which they established Chifney Wines, together with their daughter and her husband from Australia (McIntyre 2002: 260-261; Stan Chifney, Martinborough Winemakers Oral History 1990). More recently Garry Voss, who established Voss Estate (c.1987), encouraged Strat Canning, the winemaker at Margrain Vineyard from 1996 and founder of Stratford Wines (c.1993), to "try his luck" (The Dominion 2000, January 12: 17) in Martinborough while they were enjoying a skiing holiday together in the South Island. Canning was also friendly with a former Ministry of Agriculture colleague, Stephen Tarring, founder of Winslow Wines in Martinborough in 1985 (The Dominion 2000, January 12: 17; pers. comm.).

Communitas of wine-drinkers

Given that most Martinborough tourists holidayed in the company of intentionally chosen reflexive others, the perceived sociability facilitated by their wine tourism was an already established aspiration and one which was further enhanced by the

personalisation of the wine production, purchase and consumption nexus. Indeed the notion that alcohol consumption fuels “social jollification” (Horton quoted in Fuller 1996: 22) was widespread amongst Martinborough’s tourists. The consumption of wine, however, was often perceived as more ‘*civilised*’ than the drinking of beer or spirits. Many tourists, and especially female holiday-makers, felt that beer was ‘*too common*’ or ‘*working class*’ or lacked nuance in taste, whilst spirits were often cast as ‘*hard liquor*’, being both ‘*harsh*’ tasting and very ‘*strong*’ or intoxicating. Beer and spirit drinking were often associated with alcohol consumption by males or with ‘*binge drinking*’ (i.e. purposefully consuming alcohol with the intent of intense intoxication). As Fuller notes at the “heart of wine culture” (1996: 105) is a creed that “governs etiquette or propriety amongst wine drinkers. The code specifies behavioural norms that are to be disregarded only at grave cost to one’s “oenological purity”... it also stipulates behaviours (e.g. smoking or excessive alcohol consumption) that are to be avoided because they will impair the palate and corrupt the wine-tasting experience as such” (1996: 105, see also Barthes 1987).

Part of the ideal Martinborough tourism experience was therefore the sociability perceived to be afforded by drinking wine in the company of friends, both old or newly found in a *communitas* (Turner 1978) of wine lovers (Allen 1930, Fuller 1996). For example Martinborough tourists often conversed with strangers at the vineyard wine shops about the merits of the wines they were sampling, or about holiday experiences they had enjoyed or endured. This type of sociability was especially notable at the Toast Martinborough Festival, where numerous oenological protocols were temporarily suspended as many festival goers clearly drank with the intent, or at least the consequence, of inebriation. This may, in part, be explained by the anti-structure or social inversions that are characteristic of many festivals (Bakhtin 1941; Turner 1969; Turner & Turner 1978). Moreover, as previously noted many tourists emulated what they regarded as the sociability of the rural idyll by waving hello to each other whilst walking around Martinborough. Thus the sociability that tourists sought from winemakers and in their wine consumption experiences complimented and enhanced the social connectedness that was also embedded within the entangled ideals of the rural idyll and reflexive individualism.

Conclusion

Martinborough was cast by tourists as a performative and enchanted locale where they routinely aspired to experience their ideal reflexive individuality – especially in terms of their autobiographical purchases and consumption of wine, the holiday companionship of intentionally selected reflexive intimates, and in the sociability they sought with winemakers and other tourists. This ethos referenced the sociability attributed to idyllic rural communities and families, and was also typically extended to a *communitas* of wine drinkers. In addition, the tourists' performative displays of sociality routinely highlighted the ideals of social intimacy, conviviality and basic trust which are ascribed to pure relationships such as friendships and romantic association and were further exemplified by the construction of winemakers as hosts and tourists as guests, an ethos that sought to personalise the interactions between the two parties and to thus reflexively transcend the contractual, anonymous character of most commodity exchange in post-industrial societies.

The tourists' disposition toward reflexive individuality was also evident in the biographisation of winemakers and other vineyard workers, and in the naming of vineyards after individuals such as vineyard founders or their intimate associates. This further highlighted the New World belief that the unique personalities of the winemaker are reflected in the distinctive wines they produce and reproduced many of the key ideals of reflexive individualism – especially the salient influence of personality, individual skills and philosophies etc and the social recognition of individual endeavour.

The ethos of New World wine making and connoisseurship significantly opened a valid social space for experimental, eclectic and ultimately reflexive wine consumption by 'ordinary drinkers'. Assertions of personal tastes in wine were commonly exhibited in performative Martinborough settings such as vineyard wine shops, restaurants and cafés. They were also reproduced in the tourists' home-based social occasions, such as friendly dinner parties, casual barbeques or employment-related social functions that were frequented by their friends or acquaintances. The social validation of personal tastes, which also constructively reproduced the ideals of reflexive individualism, ultimately provided a means by which tourists could publicly affirm their personal orientations towards the stratification mechanisms and

hierarchies of middle class distinction. This is explored in more depth in the next chapter, together with ways that elite social distinction was attributed to wine and the way that the democratisation of wine's cultural capital facilitated performative displays of both ideal reflexive individuality and middle class distinction.

Chapter Eight

Wines of Distinction

Introduction

For long periods of human history, and in a multiplicity of societies, wine has been a staple drink variously used to replace or decontaminate water, for its medicinal purposes, as antidote to sleeplessness, as an anti-depressant or stimulant, and to intoxicate (Johnson 1998). The best vineyards and the best wines have, however, generally been reserved for the social elite, or to be consumed at the most momentous of occasions: “Wine was always the choice of the privileged” (Johnson 1998: 10 – see also Cooper 2002; Fuller 1996; Haydn 1997).

For example, the first oenological records were made in Egypt between 3,000 to 5,000 years ago and expert wine tasters of the time could discriminate between different “qualities of wine as confidently and professionally as a sherry shipper or a Bordeaux broker of the 20th century” (Johnson 1998: 24). Archaeological records also indicate that wine was most regularly consumed by royalty, courtiers and the priesthood, especially in ritual offerings to gods and the dead. This is evident in the artistic depictions of drinking vessels and in royal tomb paintings, and from the fact that ancient Egyptian vineyards were comparatively small and were sometimes dedicated to deities¹²⁹ (Johnson 1998: 24-25). Indeed the long history of wine’s association with religion, especially from the Greek Dionysus and the Roman Bacchus through to the medieval monasteries of Europe and its role in contemporary Christian rituals as such as the Eucharist, also confirms wine’s social prestige and divine veneration (see Appendix F).

Wine’s elite association is not only due the amount of labour and land required for its production, but also results from the fact that the best wines significantly improve with appropriate storage. Typically therefore only the social elite possess the capacity

¹²⁹ Ramses III in the 11th century BC recorded his gifts to Amun, the god of Thebes. These included “vineyards without limit for you in the southern oasis and also in the northern oasis, and others in great number in the southern region... I equipped them with vintners, with the captives of foreign lands and with canals from my digging” (Johnson 1998: 34)

to produce a surplus of wine above their mundane or necessary requirements and to consequentially delay consumption in anticipation of improved taste and quality:

“The discovery that must have done the most to advance wine in the esteem of the rulers of the earth was the fact that it could improve with keeping It was wonderful enough that grape juice should develop an apparent soul of its own. That it should be capable, in the right circumstances, of transmuting its vigorous spirit into something of immeasurably greater worth made it a god-like gift for kings. If wine has a prestige unique among drinks, unique, indeed, among natural products, it stems from this fact and the connoisseurship it engenders” (Johnson 1998: 12-13).

Accordingly the consumption of fine wine has been associated with superior social distinction, which individuals may performatively display via possessing the fiscal capability to acquire fashionable, extraordinary or rare wines and via their deployment of appreciative consumption or connoisseurship: “Wine is a food for hierarchy and consequently it contributes to the hierarchisation of society” (Guille-Escuret quoted in Demossier 2001: 2 – see also Fuller 1996; Heath 2000).

As noted, tourists were sensitive to conspicuous displays and mechanisms of stratified distinction, which were also evident in the attempts by Martinborough wine makers to produce distinctive, high-quality wines that invoked notions of social exclusivity and also in the distinction accorded to wine variation; differential branding strategies; the promotion of award-winning wines; and the prestige attributed to the production and consumption of Pinot Noir. All forms of social distinction are, however, subject to constant challenge, negotiation and consequential evolution, and these processes occur both within and between individuals, groups or social categories. In post-industrial societies middle class distinction is increasingly blurred, fractured and contested (Bourdieu 1984: 111; also Beck 2002: 49-50). This in part due to niche production and consumption (Rouse 1995), the sanctioned rituals of personal commodity possession (Carrier 1990, 1994; Douglas & Isherwood 1996; McCracken 1990; Miller 1987, 1998), and the expansion of singular, performative modes of consumption in association with the democratisation of the cultural capitals of urbane commodities. This has corrupted the historical connection between the leisured, conspicuous consumption of luxury commodities and elite family origin, education and sociality.

Indeed these influences have also combined to individualise consumption (Featherston 1991; Sweetman 2003) and thus effectively validate personal choices/tastes, the performative display and affirmative utterances of ideal reflexive individualism.

The formative habitus of family background and education does not therefore necessarily predict an individual's wine dispositions or sensibilities. Rather the cultural capital of wine connoisseurship, which historically was associated with elite social backgrounds, has been significantly democratised through the institutional development of readily accessible wine quality/ taste assessments and via the varietal labelling of New World wines. The development of the tiered or niche production and the associated evolution of singular, episodic and payment-delayed/ credit-card modes of consumption have also enabled the social distinction characteristically attributed to fine wine consumption to be easily emulated or even fraudulently engaged.

This does not mean, however, that individual's consumption practices no longer create, or signify, social distinction. Indeed as divergent, reflexive tastes in wine are institutionally facilitated by the New World wine ethos, the stratification mechanisms and accordant hierarchies of social distinction are sustained through mythologies of the '*French tradition*' of fine wine and the elite connoisseurship this engenders. Nevertheless, individual consumers are effectively enabled to articulate narratives of reflexive distinction, which express their personal orientation towards social distinction and which range from assertions of achievement to disdain of elevated status. Thus Martinborough's tourists, in settings of conspicuous consumption and reflexive sociability, were ultimately enabled to construct narratives and engage in performative displays that asserted their ideal reflexive individuality and which, in part, alleviated the potential negative impacts resulting from down-classing or the ascription of low status.

Differentiating wines

Every winemaker I encountered was committed to making noteworthy wines on a number of levels. Obviously they aimed to produce, brand and market wines that were distinctive products of the Martinborough region and of their specific vineyards (see Appendix G for a discussion of the Martinborough wine appellation). Hence wines were labelled with details of the region (e.g. Wairarapa), settlement (e.g.

Martinborough) and vineyard of production, with varietal or blend classifications, year of vintage,¹³⁰ and also often with the name of the winemaker. Wine was thus cast as a commodity specific to a distinctive place, time and producer. Winemakers also attempted to produce wines that were distinguishable from other wines of the same varietal in that they displayed a recognisable and distinctive style that reflected the provenance of Martinborough, a specific vineyard or the wine making philosophies and palate of an often biographised winemaker.

One partial, yet notable exception, to this paradigm was Muirlea Rise, who until the death of the vineyard's founder/ winemaker Willie Brown in 2002, produced a blended wine labelled Justa Red, but which did not specify the grape varietals or blend proportions used. The philosophy behind Justa Red was to '*break-down the pretensions*' that sometimes surround wine and to conversely encourage the reflexive engagement of wine:

'Whether you personally like a wine should be the ultimate test – not whether it is Pinot or Cab. Sav. I want people to experiment and not simply blindly follow tradition or trends' (pers. comm.).

Justa Red developed a cult following, possibly because of its exaggerated New World ethos of experimentation and reflexive consumption, but also because its point-of-difference made the wine a collectable item. Wine collectors and brokers from USA and Europe bought cases of Justa Red for their clients, primarily due its perceived idiosyncratic and rarity values. Indeed Justa Red become so collectable that individual bottles were numbered and details of their sale recorded (i.e. to whom, when etc) so that if re-sold future buyers could authenticate the wine's provenance. As Justa Red was cast as an idiosyncratic wine it was perceived to also reflect the unique philosophies of the winemaker and therefore epitomized the reflexive individualism that resonates within the '*cult of the winemaker*'. Indeed it is interesting to note that

¹³⁰ The Wine Act 2003 included new rules for wine labels, which came into force in 2007 and determine labelling of grape variety, vintage and the area where the grapes were grown (area of origin). Known colloquially as the '85% rule', it means that if a wine label states the wine is from a particular grape variety, vintage, or area, then at least 85% of that wine must be from that variety, vintage or area. The 85% rule only applies to wine labelled for retail sale, not to wine sold in bulk. Wine labels must also include 'truthful' statements about the alcohol content by volume; producer details; country of origin; volume of wine; and preservatives (Cooper 2002).

since Willie Brown's death Muirlea Rise has ceased to produce wines because they have been unable to find "a young winemaker willing or able to perpetuate Willie's winemaking philosophy" (www.cuisine.co.nz, November 2007).

In addition, all Martinborough winemakers publicly stated their aim was to produce wines of acknowledged superior quality as this was perceived as the most profitable enterprise:

"Our intent, from the outset, was to produce as good as a red wine from the district as we could humanly achieve. The choice of varieties, viticulture and management of the vines reflects our personal belief in maximizing the local conditions with the emphasis being on the quality rather than the quantity end of the continuum" (Benfield & Delamare, n.d. – promotional pamphlet).

"The Ata Rangi four are passionate about pinot and uncompromising in their pursuit of quality in all endeavours" (Ata Rangi 2002 – promotional leaflet).

"The goal of producing the best wines possible has been with Alana Estate since its inception and is true today. No expense is spared in viticulture and wine making practices. The best people are employed and the best and sometimes very innovative practices are also employed" (www.alana.co.nz, June 2006).

Most vineyards entered their wines into national and international wine competitions, and publicised winning entries either by additional labelling on the wine bottles (e.g. 'Gold Medal Winner' stickers), displaying award certificates in their wine shops or through website and other promotional strategies. Moreover, vineyards would typically promote the notion that their award-winning, or in any other way exclusive wines, were consequently desired and consumed by people of distinction (e.g. discerning wine buffs or the social elite):

"Ata Rangi wines enjoy an enviable international reputation and the Pinot Noir and Craighall Chardonnay are widely regarded as regional classics... Fit for a Queen! Ata Rangi Pinot Noir 1999 was one of two wines chosen for Queen Elizabeth and 600 guests at the State Banquet held in her honour in Parliament. We were also chuffed to learn that Lismore Pinot Gris

featured on the menu especially created for the Japanese Minister's official dinner" (Ata Rangi 2002 – promotional leaflet).

“WHAT’S NEWS - Summer 2004/05 ... Ata Rangi dinners at Peter Gordon's Providores in London, and trendy celebrity-hangout Zuma, attracted excellent numbers. The Press lunch at Jamie Oliver's Fifteen drew key writers and, yes, the food was sensational at all these hot venues! In Belgium and Holland Ata Rangi Pinot Noir also enjoys a number of extremely prestigious listings, including 3-star Michelin-rated Parkheuvel in Rotterdam and De Librije in Zwolle. Restaurant Vermeer and De Silveren Spiegel in Amsterdam are among other top spots to feature Ata Rangi" (www.atarangi.co.nz, August 2006).

“Palliser wines can be found in New Zealand and around the globe – about 60% is exported to a market of 23 countries. We work with some of the world's most highly respected and influential wine distributors, with customers including leading restaurants and hotels, world-class wine retailers and prestigious airlines” (www.palliserestate.co.nz, November 2007).

Leaflets produced by the Winemakers of Martinborough Inc also proclaimed that the area was host to “NEW ZEALAND’S MOST EXCLUSIVE WINES” (n.d). One vineyard director stated there is a fundamental ‘*economic logic*’ to Martinborough wines being associated with ‘*elite*’ persons, restaurants and events, and thus cast as socially exclusive:

‘As very small producers we can not compete on quantity in world markets, so it makes sense for us to develop niche, high-end markets where our wines will not only be associated with exclusive restaurants and their clientele, but will also achieve the best prices. In reality this the only way we can compete - on quality and in term of exclusivity.’

Martinborough's tourists similarly regarded local wines as high-quality and expensive New Zealand wines, with the best and most exclusive – for example Dry River, which did not operate a vineyard wine shop, whose vintages usually sold out each year and

whose wines were only directly available from the vineyard by mail order (for which there was a ‘wait list’ for registration) – being consumed by the social, economic and political elite. Thus the routine and appreciative consumption of top quality Martinborough wines (especially Ata Rangi, Dry River, Martinborough Vineyard), as opposed to singular or episodic consumption, not only signified individual possession of high economic, social and cultural capitals (see Chapter 1), but also functioned as a stratification mechanism by which accordant middle class distinction was further hierarchised. The social validation of personal tastes in wine and of reflexive orientations toward the consumption-distinction nexus, however, significantly alleviated the effects of downclassing and hierarchisation on tourists’ notions of self worth and ideal reflexive individuality. Similarly, the evolution of singular modes of consumption (especially in conspicuous consumption settings) and the democratisation of the cultural capital associated with connoisseur-like consumption, also promoted reflexive tastes and distinction narratives (see below).

Pinot prestige

The exclusivity of Martinborough wines also referenced the notion that Pinot Noir, the predominant Burgundy red grape variety grown in Martinborough¹³¹ and principally responsible for the region’s emergence as “one of New Zealand’s most prestigious winegrowing regions” (Cooper 2002: 173), is widely regarded as one of the most difficult to grow and one of the most sensual wines to consume:

“Pinot Noir demands much of both vine-grower and winemaker... It is a tribute to the unparalleled level of physical excitement generated by tasting one of Burgundy’s better reds that such a high proportion of the world’s most ambitious wine producers want to try their hand with this capricious vine... If Cabernet produces wines to appeal to the head, Pinot’s charms are decidedly more sensual and more transparent” (Robinson 1999: 534).

Pinot Noir clones are genetically unstable and the parent vine may produce offspring with variably sized and shaped fruit or clusters, which frequently have different aromas, flavours and levels of productivity. Pinot Noir vines are also early budders and are

¹³¹ Cooper (2002) reported that 192 hectares of Pinot Noir were planted in the Wairarapa, representing 41.9% of the total grape plantings in the region. Martinborough’s plantings of Pinot Noir were approximately 88 acres before *Craggy Range* at nearby Te Muna approximately doubled this in 1999.

vulnerable to spring frosts, while the grape bunches are tight and very prone to rot. Optimal fruit is therefore ensured by keeping yields low through intensive shoot-thinning, bunch-removal and leaf-plucking. The fruit is also thin-skinned so can shrivel rapidly and if not picked promptly at maturity will result in raisin-like aromas and neutral flavours. Production of fine Pinot Noir in New Zealand requires older stony soils with good drainage and some clay content so that vine vigour is consequently reduced and the summers must be long with pronounced differences between day and night temperatures. In the winery Pinot Noir can ferment speedily, while colour retention is a major problem for the thin-skinned berries. Lastly, Pinot Noir is very prone to acetification,¹³² which can make the wine taste like vinegar and as soon as it is bottled it sometimes loses the promising aromas and flavours displayed through fermentation and barrel aging (Cooper 2002: 44-45; Robinson 1999: 534-535). Nevertheless, for many pinotphiles these hardships pale into insignificance given the rich complexity of taste that a full-bodied, yet light or silky, Pinot Noir affords:

‘A good Pinot will have an intense cherry aroma and a spicy taste that lingers for a long time in the mouth... you can taste mushrooms, old cigars, forest floor, cinnamon and sometimes a hint of ripened tomato or even mint. There is no other wine quite like Pinot. It is without question the most complex of all wines’ (Martinborough winemaker).

Notions of exclusivity were also foregrounded whenever stocks of Martinborough’s wines were sold out (see Fig.9.). Hence vineyard promotions often highlighted the notion that high quality Martinborough wines were in constant peril of limited supply due to their appreciation by ‘discerning drinkers’:

“Alana Estate – limited quantity – unlimited quality” (www.alana.co.nz, June 2006).

“Winemakers Olly, Helen and Clive have selected only the very finest barrels: invariably those sourced from the original home blocks, oldest vines and most consistently top performing clones. The volume of this top label

¹³² Acetification begins when wine is exposed to oxygen and acetobacter bacteria converts the alcohol into unpalatable levels of acetic acid. Acetic acid is directly produced during fermentation and most wines have detectable, yet palatable, levels as a result of normal yeast activity, which turns the grape sugars into alcohol and carbon dioxide (Robinson 1999: 2).

wine is again limited, but there's at least a little more to go around than the frosted vintage last year" (www.atarangi.co.nz, June 2006).

Alana Estate has advertised in Wellington newspapers on several occasions to purchase back previously sold vintages so that they could bolster stocks in their wine cellar and to on-sell to high-profile customers (pers. comm.). This form of exclusivity promotes the notion that those individuals who are cognisant of high-quality and fashionable Martinborough wines or who maintain an intimate relationship with a renowned winemaker possessed similarly exclusive cultural and social capitals. Thus possessions of a 'sold-out' or even limited supply Martinborough wine created and denoted elite social distinction.

(Re)awarding wines

Many tourists were, however, unaware of the difficulties of growing and making Pinot Noir wine and some found its complex tastes '*over-powering*', preferring '*fresher*' or more obviously fruit-driven wines such as Sauvignon Blanc or Chardonnay (especially unoaked). Nevertheless Martinborough's reputation was principally founded on the quality of its Pinot Noir and many tourists were drawn to the area by the specific prospect of sampling these wines. Many tourists were therefore impressed by the wine awards and favourable reviews that adorned the walls of vineyard wine shops. Vineyards also often listed awards won by their wines and reproduced favourable reviews in their website promotions:

"If I was ranking wineries from first to last, rather than alphabetically, Ata Rangi would still come out on top. The focus is unerringly on making the best wine possible. The king of the Ata Rangi stable is pinot noir and in ascending order of greatness, Ata Rangi's other outstanding wines include syrah, pinot gris, sauvignon blanc and Craighall Chardonnay. Joelle Thomson on New Zealand's Top 10 Wineries - NZ Herald 11 Feb 04" (www.atarangi.co.nz, November 2007 – emphasis in original).

"2002

FOOD & WINE MAGAZINE- IRELAND

If you happen to find the 2001 when you go shopping, snaffle it, it's utterly stunning. But this recent arrival is attractive too - fragrant with aromas of

cherries and herbs and vigorously juicy but smooth. Unlike some New Zealand Pinot noirs, Palliser delivers. Wonderful with duck” (www.palliserestate.co.nz, November 2007 – emphasis in original).

Winemakers also noted that a newspaper report of an award often resulted in a ‘run’ by customers buying a particular award winning wine and some have even had to ‘buy back’ stock from wholesales, retailers and restaurants to ensure they had award-winning stock available for regular or loyal customers:

‘News of an award can spread like wild-fire – especially if its a good one like the gold medal or trophy in the national Air New Zealand wine competition or even a top award in a prestigious overseas competition. Then we have all our regulars and lots of new people on the phone or e-mailing trying to buy up our stock, plus the wine shop will be packed on the weekends’ (Martinborough winemaker).

I observed many tourists reading the award citations and a significant number spontaneously enquired about the awards or would make favourable comments to their friends. Moreover many tourists said they were influenced by awards, or by favourable wine critic reviews, in making their wine purchases:

‘I suppose it’s like movie awards or reviews – I don’t have the time to keep up with the industry, so I often rely on reviews or awards... I regularly read wine reviews in the local newspaper or in food magazines and I will definitely try a gold or silver medal winning wine to see if I like it’ (Tourist, male, late 20’s, Wellington-based).

Award distinction was also stratified according to which competitions vineyards entered or did not contest. For example, one of the widely acknowledged top wineries in Martinborough, Ata Rangi, only entered international wine shows, especially the International Wine and Spirit Competition held annually in London. Whereas perhaps the best Martinborough vineyard, Dry River,¹³³ did not enter wine shows at all in a conspicuous demonstration that the high quality of its wines was already firmly established and therefore did not require, or had transcended, award validation. Others

¹³³ Noted Master of Wine and wine critic, Bob Campbell, has rated Dry River as the best vineyard in New Zealand: “Dry River produces, across its product range, higher quality wines than any other New Zealand winery. The latest wines recorded in my tasting notes all earned five stars” (Campbell 2000: 99).

such as Palliser Estate entered (and won awards at) both national and international competitions, for example Mondial du Pinot Noir in Switzerland, Winpac in Hong Kong, and the International Wine Challenge in London, which is “one of the most ambitious and successful international wine competitions” (Robinson 1999: 193). Other Martinborough vineyards entered mostly domestic or Australian competitions.

Most ordinary wine drinkers and tourists were, however, unaware of this hierarchy of wine competitions, although many were impressed by awards of any origin and especially the premier national competition (Air New Zealand Wine Show), which received the greatest amount of local press coverage and which also reflected the nationalist sentiments attributed to domestic wines. Of course, virtually all tourists were unaware of wines that had failed to win competition awards or indeed of wines that were not considered by producers to be of sufficient quality to be entered, as these details were not publicised by the vineyards. Competition awards do not therefore identify the best wines per se, but only the “the best of those who have something to gain by entering” (Robinson 1999: 193).

I only encountered a few experienced wine drinkers who were cognisant of the variation in the quality of wine competitions (especially according to judging criteria and quality of entries) and moreover that the best French wines, which typically provide the bench-mark for quality in the global industry, generally did not enter competitions. Rather they relied on appellation classifications (e.g. Grand Cru Burgundy). First Growth Bordeaux) and informed opinion from internationally respected wine critics such as the Robert Parker¹³⁴, edited wine reviews such as *Guide Hachette*¹³⁵ and the trickle-down effects of acclamatory dialogue amongst connoisseurs to maintain or enhance their reputations:

“Well-run reputable wine competitions can play an important part in the sales success of a wine producer, which is why some wine labels are adorned with MEDALS and the like, and some wine merchant’s lists are

¹³⁴ Parker first published the *Wine Advocate* in 1978. By 1998 the *Advocate* had more than 45,000 subscribers, mainly American but also drawn from 35 other countries and was released in a French language edition. Today *RobertParker.com* has some 80,000 wine reviews, which comparatively rate wines out of 100 possible points (Robinson 1999: 511-512).

¹³⁵ *Guide Hachette* or *Le Guide Hachette de Vins* is an annual French publication started in 1983, in which various critics review French wines by region. It regularly has more than 150,000 subscribers (Demossier 2005) and today it can also be accessed on-line at www.hachette.com.

dotted with lists of awards. Care should be taken when studying these claims that the competition was a recent and respected one, and that the successful wine was exactly the same bottling as the one being offered... It should be remembered, however, that few of the world's most revered producers enter such competitions and certainly none of those who produce very limited quantities" (Robinson 1999: 193 – emphasis in original).

The taste characteristics, quality and worthiness of any wine are clearly subject to divergent and institutionally validated assessment. Nevertheless, wine critics, wine competitions, wine producers and wine drinkers, ranging from the erudite producer through to the connoisseur or the novice consumer, are all institutionally sanctioned to (inter)subjectively assess wines, although divergent assessments may be contextually constructed and valued. For example, individuals on the panel of national and international judges at the Air New Zealand Wine Show are compelled to assess wines in varietal classifications and according to criteria established by the competition organisers. There is, however, no compulsion for wine judges to agree on their individual assessments or on their comparative ranking of wine. Medals are assigned to wines after the points awarded by individual judges are tallied. Pre-established thresholds establish the number of points required for a gold, silver or bronze medal and there is no necessary minimum or limit to the number of medals that may be awarded. The chief judge, however, retains the right of deciding the trophy awards (i.e. for best varietal) whenever two or more wines score the same total of points (pers. comm.). The variable results of wine competitions, in combination with the readily accessible, yet often different or even contradictory, opinions of wine critics, function to appreciably amplify and provide social sanction of divergent assessments, tastes and proclivities and consequentially validate the reflexive engagement of wine.

As wine is a product that is constantly changing, between seasons and even after being bottled, the scope for differential assessments is virtually infinite. Martinborough's winemakers did not even agree on which grape varieties were best suited to the area's terroir. Some, such as Stan Chifney (Chifney Wines) and Bill Benfield and Sue Delamare (Benfield & Delamare), publicly stated that Martinborough is best suited to growing Cabernet Sauvignon, while Clive Paton (Ata Rangi), Larry McKenna (Escarpment Vineyard) and others were equally convinced that Pinot Noir was most

appropriate. Indeed some winemakers who were presently committed to growing Pinot Noir also believed that future climate changes could result in Martinborough being better suited to producing top-quality Cabernet Sauvignon and Shiraz. And although most winemakers extolled the virtues of Pinot Noir in reference to its complexity of taste and production, Dr Neil McCallum publicly stated he preferred Riesling:

“Riesling will eventually be the greatest of all the varieties coming out of Martinborough, in my humble opinion... For intensity and purity of fruit and concentration you just have no trouble with Riesling in Martinborough. It’s really extraordinary. I am not suggesting that all the Rieslings that are coming out of here are brilliant, but I have seen enough top-notch ones to say it’s just a question of application and of time” (The Dominion, 2000, January 14: 11).

Reflexive tastes

As noted, ordinary wine drinkers were structurally encouraged, via the collusive ideals of reflexive individualism, personalised consumption and the New World wine connoisseurship of innovation, to form personal opinions concerning the taste and comparative quality of wines. For example, tourists visiting the vineyards’ wine shops were initially invited to sample wines from the most recently released vintage. They were then instructed by the cellar assistants in the taste characteristics of each wine and the appropriate order of tasting (i.e. from white to reds so that the palate is not overwhelmed by the concentration of tannins and flavours typical of red wine). Tourists were also typically encouraged to comment on what they tasted and sometimes on their assessments of the wine’s quality. The tourists’ personal tastes and judgements articulated were not, however, usually contradicted or demeaned by cellar assistants. If a cellar assistant disagreed with a tourist’s assessment of a wine they typically prefixed their remarks with statements such as *‘Oh really’* (i.e. expressing neutrality or surprise) or *‘That’s not something I’ve noticed’* (i.e. framing contradiction within different, yet entirely reflexive, experiences or assessments). Moreover, if a customer volunteered an opinion on a wine, especially on those sourced from other vineyards, most hosts simply acknowledged the individual’s viewpoint or suggested wines from their vineyard that the consumer might enjoy based on their expressed preferences. Such interactions between retailer and consumer were thus effectively framed within the host-guest paradigm that is characteristically found in tourism and which draws analogies with

idealised Western hosting relationships where a guest is revered and always made to feel welcome (Smith 1989).

Tourists were also routinely encouraged to *'find a wine they liked'* by sampling the variety of wines on sale and individual selections were characteristically validated with supportive, almost collusive, comments from the host (e.g. *'I really like the Riesling too'*). Consumers would also often explain – sometimes in response to a query from a cellar assistant, but most often spontaneously – the reasons they enjoyed or disliked a specific wine. Such explanations most often focused on issues of personal taste (e.g. *'I find white wines too acidic'*) or emotional response (e.g. *'I really like sweet wines'*), and sometimes on their financial capacity to afford or source a specific wine.

There were, however, widely recognised limits to the affirmative assertion of personal tastes in wine. These did not focus on individual varietal or vineyard preferences, but were chiefly directed toward consumption practices commonly regarded as untenable. For example, individuals who mixed lemonade or fruit juice with wine (typically white wine), or who merely expressed a fondness for such practices, were often subjected to negative comments from fellow drinkers. Criticisms typically centred on the notion that mixing in other liquids either destroyed or diluted the taste integrity of the wine and was considered passé or lacking in appropriate cultural capital of appreciative consumption. Although, if the mixture was undertaken for a young child or pregnant woman to consume, then the discourse of dilution was replaced by assertions that affirmed the health rationale of reducing the alcoholic content of the wine. If the social occasion was casual (e.g. a barbeque) and the beverage in question was a sparkling white wine, either *méthode traditionnelle* or *méthode champenoise*,¹³⁶ mixed with orange juice to create 'buck's fizz', then criticisms were either absent or more typically jocular in tone. Mixing white wine with ice cubes, which I encountered several middle class individuals doing at Wellington barbeques, was also met with jocular comments about dilution, although this practice was sometimes sanctioned as a pragmatic means to cool down white wine on a hot summer's day. Interestingly I did not encounter any incidents

¹³⁶ In New Zealand the terms *méthode champenoise* and *méthode traditionnelle* (rough translation, in the method of Champagne and in the traditional method respectively) are the terms given to sparkling white wine made in areas outside of Champagne in Rheims, Epernay and Ay, France, but produced in same the classical manner and style as French Champagne.

where wine was diluted with water, although some tourists were aware that in French culture this is characteristically undertaken when serving red wine to young children.

Thus personal or reflexive tastes in wine were significantly validated in a variety of public fora, although not everyone necessarily agreed with an individual's quality assessments or wine preferences. As noted, cellar assistants were accepting and often affirmative of consumers' varied wine tastes in their public discourses, but in private conversations they typically vilified or derided '*poor choices*' or assessments by consumers. Nevertheless there was widespread acceptance amongst both Martinborough's tourists and wine industry representatives of what particularly constituted poor quality wine, such as '*chateaux cardboard*' and inexpensive, often internationally sourced and blended wines (e.g. Tamara or Queen Adelaide). Furthermore, those knowledgeable in wine, especially winemakers, wine critics, and connoisseurs, commonly agreed upon what constituted elite wines and vineyards (both national and international).

Between these limits there was considerable space for disagreement, contestment, and hence valid assertion of variable personal or reflexive tastes. This emphasis on the negotiated, contested but ultimately reflexive engagement with wine is analogous to the social saliency accorded to the institutionalisation of individualism and associated rise of reflexive dispositions, divergent alternative life-choices, trajectories and autobiographical narratives in late modernity (Beck 2002; Giddens 1991). The rise and celebration of reflexive modes of consumption is entwined with the collapse of a necessary connection between habitus (especially of formative family and education backgrounds) and the dispositional deployment of economic, cultural and social capitals (see Chapter 2). Accordingly the link between the tourists' family origins, educational background and economic affluence and their wine consumption was highly variable and was not necessarily influential or determinative.

Wine-drinker case studies

To examine the connection between habitus (especially family background and education) and the individual deployment of economic, cultural and social capitals with respect to wine, I interviewed and assessed the wine collections of a number of Martinborough tourists. Clearly these individuals did not constitute a significant social sample of Martinborough tourists, but rather a snapshot of their wine biographies is offered to illustrate the potential variance in individual backgrounds and reflexive wine knowledge, aspirations and practices.

The differences recorded in parental consumption of alcohol, and the potential wine dispositions this imparts, in many respects reflects the democratisation of the cultural capital of appreciative wine consumption and the general middle classing of New Zealand society (see Introduction). Indeed most of the case study individuals acquired, or at least reinforced and maintained, their appreciative wine dispositions via reading articles by wine critics in magazines or books. For many this practice commenced when they were at university or when financially established as independent adults, thus reflecting the symbolic capital of wine consumption as a marker of middle class distinction. All in fact regarded wine consumption as a middle class activity, however, as their case studies also demonstrate there was a number of pathways and manifestations toward this generalised disposition. For example, (B) & (G) were both from working class backgrounds and did not attend university. The parents of (B) never consumed alcohol and the father of (G) only drunk beer and occasionally spirits. Both acquired their wine appreciation via magazine articles and books, with (G) regarding himself as a gourmet. However, only (B) had the requisite financial capital to enable his consumption of fine wine, while the constrained financial situation of (G) meant that his consumption of even good quality wine only occurred *'if someone else was paying'*.

Some had purposefully acquired connoisseurship in terms of knowledge, yet only (E) allowed this to significantly determine his customary consumption practices, restricting his wine consumption to good quality wines when his financial or social circumstances allowed. The others with appreciative wine dispositions were, however, more pragmatic and said they would drink lesser or better quality wines as their economic circumstances dictated or if pertinent to the social occasion (e.g. everyday vs. special

consumption). Most individuals also deployed the New World ethos of connoisseurship and regularly experimented with new wines or kept an eye out for a *'bargain'* (i.e. good quality, low cost) wines.

The possession of economic capital played a significant, but not necessarily determinative, role in the individuals' manifest capacity to consume fine wine. For example, one affluent individual (A) kept a well-stocked, yet modest wine cellar in terms of quality, perhaps reflecting his *'self-made'* background and associated frugal dispositions. Another affluent individual (B) relied almost solely on the erudite wine recommendations of his business partner to ensure that his well stocked cellar was of high quality. Interestingly, however, those with the least financial capital had significant cultural capital of wine appreciation. For example, (G) described himself as *'well read'* in wine and classical French cuisine even though his financial situation did not typically enable him to practice this in terms of consumption.

In assessing the quality of these individuals' wine cellars or purchases I have relied on the perspectives and rankings of noted wine critics such as Bob Campbell (2004) and Michael Cooper (2002), and on information I have gleaned from various Martinborough winemakers and others in the wine industry:

(A) Male, 59, college educated, self-employed businessman, earned more than \$400,000 per annum. Maintained a self proclaimed *'well-stocked'* wine cellar of approximately 200 bottles. His parents only occasionally drank alcohol, but he started whilst at college and now daily consumes across a range of alcoholic beverages (e.g. beer, spirits, wine). Regularly enjoys wine, but only intermittently reads wine reviews. He buys in terms of varieties he personally enjoys (mostly white wines), alcoholic content (he prefers high i.e. 12% and above) and to take advantage of store bargains or discounted, *'by the case'* wines. My assessment was that the majority of wine in his cellar was of low-to-medium quality and inexpensive. The best Martinborough wine he possessed was a Pencarrow Chardonnay, a second tier Palliser Estate wine.

(B) Male, 41, tertiary educated (commerce), self-employed, earned between \$200-300,000 per annum. His parents did not drink alcohol, but he started *'in a small way'* when at university. Now has an *'extensive'* wine cellar of more than 500 bottles. He

admitted to *'knowing nothing'* about wine and only buys on the recommendation of his business partner who *'is right into wine'*. His cellar contained mostly top of the range New Zealand and Australian wines, together with some lesser quality wines for his wife who prefers *'sweet'* whites. His best Martinborough wines were several cases of Pinot Noir from Dry River and Ata Rangi, both rated as top Martinborough wines. He has also bought *'investment wines'* such as Penfold's Grange from Australia and with his business partner an en primeur barrel of Charmes Chambertin Grand Cru (Pinot Noir) that was stored with a wine broker in France.

(C) Female, 41, tertiary educated (law), academic/ researcher, earned approximately \$70,000 per annum. Her parents (also tertiary educated) regularly drank wine with dinner and she maintained a small cellar (50-60 bottles). She said she usually bought and consumed wine within *'days, sometimes hours, of purchase'*, avidly read wine reviews and always listened for word-of-mouth recommendations, especially of new or bargain wines. She also regularly visited vineyards to sample wines. She said she typically bought from the top of the range on a restaurant's wine list, but was also happy to experiment. If her finances were temporarily limited, then she bought cheaper wines and regularly *'saves'* by purchasing mid-range, *'everyday drinking'* wines from a *'corporate wine club'*. Her best Martinborough wines were bottles of Pinot Noir and Gewürztraminer from Dry River. The rest of her wines were mid-to-top range New Zealand wines and several from Australia.

(D) Male, 55, left college in 4th form, self-employed builder but now semi-retired, financially *'comfortable'*. His parents never drank alcohol and he did not drink as adolescent or as a young man. Developed a passion for wine in his 40's as he noticed the New Zealand wine industry achieving international acclaim and he had worked in Martinborough as an apprentice builder in the 1970's. He had an extensive, purpose-built (i.e. temperature/ moisture controlled) cellar of more than 300 bottles and also *'owns'* a row of grapes in an Australian vineyard,¹³⁷ moreover his holidays are typically orientated around vineyard visits. Regularly read wine reviews and said he can appreciate a good wine. He said he was always on the hunt for an *'undiscovered gem at a bargain price'*, so listened keenly to other people's wine recommendations. Saved his

¹³⁷ The individual does not have property rights over the land or the vines, but rather has 'first option' on any wine produced from the row.

'best wines' for special occasions or for people *'who will appreciate it'*, thus was more likely to drink mid-range, inexpensive wines for *'everyday'* purposes. His best Martinborough wine was a Martinborough Vineyard Pinot Noir Reserve, a top Martinborough wine. Overall his collection ranged from the *'cheap and cheerful'* through to mid-range (including Italian and Spanish) and top quality, expensive New Zealand and Australian wines.

(E) Male, 25, college educated, in tertiary education (fine arts), earned approximately \$20-30,000 per annum. Family regularly drunk wine and he has a small, but *'exclusive'* collection of approximately 100 wines. He described himself as *'absolutely hooked on wine'* and had previously worked in restaurants as a wine waiter in New Zealand, Australia and California. Only buys (or trades for) the best wine he can afford and will not drink what he regards as a second-rate wine *'if I can possibly help it'*. Regularly read wine reviews and talked to people in the wine and hospitality industries about which wines are *'hot'*. At the time of the interview his wine collecting had been curtailed as he was financially dependent on student allowance (approximately \$10,000 per annum). Best Martinborough wine was a Pinot Noir from Ata Rangi and had a number of wines from California that he assured me were *'top of the range'*.

(F) Female, 26, tertiary educated (social science), currently unemployed. Her family did not drink alcohol, but she started drinking wine when at university and employed as a waitress. She is a self confessed wine and whiskey *'fan'*, regularly read wine reviews, attended wine tastings and visited vineyards and claimed she *'always up for a free tasting'*. Can name top whiskey producers and a wide range of elite vineyards in New Zealand, Australia, and a few in France, although she said she had never tasted a Grand Cru or First-growth wine. She said she had a very sensitive palate and could appreciate, but was usually unable to afford, a good wine. She said she would drink just about anything in her early twenties, but did *'splash out'* several times a year to celebrate birthdays or other personally momentous occasions by using her credit card. She also admitted to drinking very cheap and low quality wines on occasion. She had only had two bottles of wine in her flat; both were medium quality New Zealand wines, although none were from Martinborough. She said that her biggest wine collection was 8 to 10 bottles of wine.

(G) Male, 56, left college early, sickness beneficiary. Left school aged 15 years and commenced tertiary student (humanities) when 48 years old. Father was '*working class*' and primarily drank beer, sometimes spirits. Mother did not drink alcohol. He personally started consuming wine when an adult. He also described himself as '*auto-didactic*' across a wide range of subjects, including '*classical French cuisine and wine*'. Although knowledgeable, he admitted that his personal experience of fine French wine was virtually '*non-existent*' and that he mostly consumed '*low quality and cheap plonk*'. Fundamentally his wine consumption was dictated by his often precarious financial resources and he regularly purchased heavily discounted wines. He did, however, regularly read local wine reviews and could name a number of the top New Zealand and French vineyards. Also said would try anything '*especially if someone else was paying*'. He did not have any wine at his home when interviewed.

With exception of (A) all these individuals displayed a reasonable knowledge of top range New Zealand wines, although (A), (F), and (G) did not regularly consume top domestic wines. All but (A) and (G) were cognisant of some good quality Australian wines, while (B), (E) and to a lesser extent (D) collected top international wines. Subjects (F) and (G) claimed a reasonable knowledge of top New Zealand and Australian wines, but rarely and in some instances had never tasted these. Similarly, (G) said he had a good knowledge of many top French wines, but had not actually tasted any. All ascribed to the New World wine ethos and were motivated to experiment and try new wines, and many were further inclined to seek out bargain wines (good quality at a comparatively inexpensive price) – although (E) was most likely to experiment if the wine was recommended by a respected wine critic or colleague in the hospitality industry.

All but (A) regularly read wine reviews, actively sought word-of-mouth recommendations and many were also motivated to purchase retail discounts. With the exception of (E), all discussed how they would drink inexpensive or mid-range wines for everyday purposes or when financially constrained. Moreover, they would also purchase better, more expensive wines for special occasions (e.g. to celebrate birthdays) or people (e.g. to share with someone who would appreciate). Interestingly the most affluent, (A) and (B), had little cultural capital of wine connoisseurship and traversed quite different consumption pathways. This was not necessarily explained by

their differences in educational background, as one was college educated, the other tertiary educated. However, whereas (A) purchased in bulk and on the basis of price and alcoholic content, perhaps reflecting his 'self-made' background, (B) relied on the social capital of his wine-educated business partner to guide his purchases of expensive and high quality wines.

Subject (E) was one of the least affluent, yet had an educational and family background that could induce wine connoisseurship. He said he rarely compromised on quality and would often forgo wine consumption instead of drinking an inferior wine. In some respects (C) was similar, although she compromised on quality for everyday consumption purposes if her financial resources were constrained and she was prepared to experiment with unknown wines. By way of contrast, (D) did not have the family or educational background that might induce wine connoisseurship. Nevertheless he had developed, as a mature adult, an appreciative palate and extensive wine knowledge. His wine consumption, however, ranged from the '*cheap and cheerful*' to high-quality wines depending on the occasion. Similarly (F) and (G) did not have the family or educational background of wine connoisseurship, but had read widely on classical French cuisine and wines. The impoverished circumstances of (G) meant that he was typically unable to turn his gourmet knowledge into practice. Although often financially constrained, (F) nevertheless intentionally bought, collected and consumed a small number of medium to good quality New Zealand wines when her variable financial circumstances allowed or when warranted by a special occasion (e.g. birthday).

These subjects displayed significant variance in both wine knowledge and drinking practices, indicating that the necessary connection between the cultural capital of wine appreciation and consumption patterns can be tenuous. Indeed most did not limit themselves to the exclusive consumption of fine wine even when they possessed the necessary cultural capital to appreciate its distinctions. One individual was heavily influenced by his cultural capital of connoisseurship, but did not always have the necessary financial wherewithal to enact it and accordingly chose to forgo the consumption of lesser wines. Another, who possessed the cultural capital but was perpetually bereft of funds, regularly imbibed '*cheap plonk*'.

Despite the individual variation in wine appreciation, experience and practice, all nevertheless recognised that the consumption of good quality wine was a mark of middle class distinction. Many were also aware that the capacity to genuinely embrace connoisseur-like practice was most often dependent on both cultural (i.e. connoisseurship) and financial capital, although both (F) and (G) sometimes satisfied their fine wine dispositions by taking advantage of '*free*' offers. Clearly, however, the possession of one or both capitals did not necessarily result in or necessarily rule out connoisseur-like consumption of fine wines either as a routine or occasional practice. Neither could the subjects' variance in wine appreciation and practice be necessarily predicted by family or educational backgrounds. For example, (D), and (F) did not have a family background of alcohol consumption, yet had developed their wine dispositions from other sources (most notably from wine reviews about gourmet foods or working in the hospitality industry). Nonetheless the potential of tertiary education and family background to stimulate the acquisition and deployment of the cultural capital of fine wine appreciation was apparent with (C) and (E).

All these subjects, like many other Martinborough tourists, could however readily articulate why they purchased or preferred specific wines, and their selection criterion included individual tastes, the social context of consumption (e.g. better wines for special occasions), respected recommendations, experimentation, opportunistic gifting or their financial circumstances. Moreover, some like (E) and (F) could recall times when they had the financial capital to enable robust expression of their wine connoisseurship and likewise anticipated enjoying similar occasions in the future.

These Martinborough tourists therefore displayed a significant degree of consciousness concerning their wine practices and deployed reflexive narratives that asserted and validated their personal tastes, motivations and experiences. They also demonstrated a marked degree of awareness of their specific responses to circumstances such as temporary financial constraint or social context, especially everyday wine consumption contrasted with that undertaken on special occasions. Furthermore, all were not only aware that wine consumption was a mark of middle class distinction, but also that variance in the appreciative and financial consumption of fine wine was a mechanism by which distinction was stratified. Most were aspirational of fine wine consumption, with the exception of (A) and (B) who both possessed elevated financial status but did

not necessarily aspire to connoisseurship. Although (B) recognised that a cellar stocked with fine wine was a mark of elevated social distinction, he relied on his social connections with an individual with appreciative wine sensibilities to facilitate this, and (A) simply purchased according to his personal tastes and with the intent of restricting his financial outlay to 'good value' wines.

Tourists thus uttered narratives and engaged performances of wine consumption that routinely referenced the key ideals of both reflexive individualism (e.g. autonomy, personal choice/ taste, progressive development etc) and middle class distinction (e.g. aesthetic consumption, stratified capital deployment etc). The influence of the New World wine ethos of experimentation, bargain hunting, and to a lesser extent the subjective contestment of wine quality assessment were also readily apparent in their wine practices. As was the mythologised '*French tradition*' of fine wine, with many intentionally consulting wine reviews, gourmet food texts and connoisseur acquaintances to garner knowledge of high-quality domestic and international wines. However, although some clearly aspired to the elevated social status that fine wine consumption can bestow, others were clearly comfortable oscillating between fine and ordinary wine consumption. Indeed, one individual (D) intentionally forwent fine wine consumption despite possessing the necessary financial wherewithal, while another (G) pragmatically resigned himself that such a practice was beyond his financial means, although he did maintain the necessary cultural capital.

These individuals' wine practices were thus variously divergent and convergent, consistent and variable, predictable and seemingly capricious. Their wine praxis thus reflected the diverse dispositions and ideals that can arise from the entangled, dialogic and sometimes contradictory habitus of institutionalised individualism and middle class distinction, and thus echoed the nuanced and alternative life trajectories, social contexts and intersubjectivities that characterise late modernity (Beck 2002; Giddens 1991). The subjects' variable wine practices also revealed the allied, yet differential, influence of consumption mythologies such as the New World wine ethos and the '*French tradition*' of fine wine. This variance and fluidity of reflexive wine dispositions was reinforced by the strategic commodification of wine in Martinborough, New Zealand and other New World wine societies. In particular, the democratisation of the cultural capital of appreciative consumption and the development of tiered wine, which enabled niche and

singular consumption, facilitated both reflexive consumption and easier access to, and display of, the middle class distinction attributed to fine wine consumption.

The democratisation of wine

In Martinborough and throughout New Zealand the cultural capital that was historically perceived to be necessary to appreciatively consume wine has been fundamentally democratised. For example, tourists visiting the wine shops of Martinborough vineyards were often asked if they knew anything of the vineyard's wines or of Martinborough wines in general. If they answered in the negative, then the cellar assistants would usually suggest they sample all their wines. Cellar assistants would then typically comment on how specific wines were produced (e.g. oaked for 6 months etc) and would identify the specific taste characteristics (e.g. *'this Pinot has cherry plum flavours'*). They also often commented on what foods would ideally compliment the wine and on how the wines should be optimally served (e.g. Cabernet Sauvignon should be allowed to breathe and be served at room temperature). Thus novice, and even return, consumers were routinely instructed in various aspects of wine appreciation and other ideals of consumption. Moreover, most Martinborough vineyards included tasting and cellaring¹³⁸ notes on their promotional websites:

"TASTING NOTES

Pinot Noir 2005

A very low yielding vintage and wonderfully warm early summer has delivered a structured, deeply sumptuous, velvet-textured Pinot Noir. This is a serious, cellar worthy Pinot. Opened within the next couple of years, expect to savour the rich cherry stone and delicately spiced ripe plum characters, with fine tannins running evenly across the entire palate"

(www.atarangi.co.nz, August 2006 – emphasis in original).

Supermarkets and wine retail outlets throughout New Zealand also routinely include wine tasting notes and rating systems on small cards adjacent to shelved wine. For example, Progressive Enterprises Ltd, who control approximately 45% of the supermarket trade in New Zealand and operate 172 outlets under the Countdown, Woolworths and Foodtown banners, employ Bob Campbell to rate and endorse the best

¹³⁸ These typically discuss when a 'cellared' wine has, or is about to, reach its 'optimal drinking' with respect to its varietal flavour/ taste characteristics.

wines within four price brackets, ranging from under \$12NZ to over \$20NZ. Interestingly the mechanism used to identify these wines is another example of the reflexive personalisation of wine. Firstly, the rating programme is named after Bob Campbell, while the wines he personally selects as “best in class” (www.progressive.co.nz, November 2007) are identified by differently coloured stickers that depict his “infamous Panama hat” (www.progressive.co.nz, November 2007 – see Fig.35.). This personalised recommendation is made even more explicit in the picture of Bob Campbell featured on posters promoting the ratings programme and by the accompanying text: “A wine has to be **good** before **I** will take **my** hat off to it” (www.progressive.co.nz, November 2007- emphasis mine/ see Fig.41.). Progressive Enterprises specifically state that this initiative is designed to help make individual “wine selection even easier instore” (www.progressive.co.nz, November 2007).

The Bob Campbell Wine Ratings programme

The Classes and stickers are as follows:



Fig.35. The Bob Campbell rating stickers depicting his “infamous Panama hat” (www.progressive.co.nz, November 2007).

In addition, this type of wine-quality rating information is regularly imparted on bottle labels with stickers, usually gold, silver or bronze, detailing the competition medals awarded to a specific wine or vineyard of production (see Fig. 37.). As noted, the promotional websites of most Martinborough vineyards have sections devoted to listing the various awards won by their wines or vineyards, and many tourists selected wines based on these awards. Some said that they selected trophy or gold medal wines to be consumed on '*special occasions*' or when they wanted to impress friends (especially those knowledgeable of wines), and silver or bronze medal wines for everyday drinking or for more casual social situations.

Through these initiatives the cultural capital of wine connoisseurship, which historically involved the comparative, analytical consumption of a wide variety of wines to develop a palate capable of identifying critical variations in quality, is significantly democratised. Firstly, the wine palates and wine assessments of an exclusive band of qualified connoisseurs and renowned producers are made readily available to 'ordinary drinkers' through tasting notes, rating systems and competition awards. Secondly, these essentially (inter)subjective and qualitative assessments are presented in easily identifiable and highly accessible forms, namely in terms of quantified, differential rating systems.

Gold, silver and bronze awards, or three-to-five star ratings, are used to denote differential achievement and quality in everything from athletic competitions to the ranking of tourist accommodation. Therefore, not only is the intentional selection of a high quality wine no longer necessarily aligned with the personal acquisition of connoisseurship, but neither is the social distinction attributed to the individual purchasers and consumers of fine wine. Effectively all that is required to consume a fine wine is the knowledge of where to source such a product (and as noted the number of wine retail outlets in New Zealand has increased from 6,275 in 1989 to 14,494 in 2006 - NZ Herald May 26, 2006- <http://subs.nzherald.co.nz>), the financial capacity to purchase (which may be credit-card enabled) and a simple understanding of the rating systems, the ability to read tasting notes or take instruction from a helpful cellar assistant or wine broker. In fact, details of what foods ideally compliment specific

wines is also often imparted on the back labels of wine bottles, on vineyards' websites and in numerous magazine and newspaper articles. Thus not only is wine connoisseurship democratised, but so also are the associated practices of gastronomy.



Fig.36. A poster advertising the Bob Campbell wine rating programme, showing his “infamous Panama hat” and which explicitly promotes his personalised wine recommendations (www.progressive.co.nz, November 2007).

The democratisation of appreciative consumption has also been facilitated by the New World practice of varietal labelling of wine (e.g. as Sauvignon Blanc, Pinot Noir etc), which was first used in the United States principally because of a “lack of anything more specific to say” (Johnson 1998: 459). This practice was widely adopted by New Zealand wine makers in the 1970’s with the intention of breaking the association between elite social class and wine connoisseurship that typified French and European consumption of fine wine (Cooper 2002: 20). As noted, following the establishment of Haut Brion in 1660, wines in France have typically been labelled according to chateaux, regional and more latterly appellation designations (Johnson 1998: 201). For example, the label Château Haut-Brion is a first-growth Bordeaux red sourced from the

Château's vineyard in the Graves district (Robinson 1999: 345). Commonly known as Claret in Britain, red Bordeaux wines are typically made from different blends of Cabernet Sauvignon, Cabernet Franc, Merlot, Petit Verdot and/or Malbec varieties (Robinson 1999: 89-90). Historically the capacity to distinguish between Bordeaux wines produced from different blended grape varieties and of different quality required an understanding of regional and château-specific plantings, the French appellation systems and of vintage variations. Moreover, it also required the ability to read French, or at least 'wine label French', a well-rounded and comparative experience of drinking different regional wines and a correlated palate memory. Such attributes were commonly found only among the affluent and well-educated elite.



Fig. 37. The sticker depicting a gold medal award from the prestigious International Wine & Spirit Competition (2001), London, which is displayed on bottles of award-winning wines.

By labelling wine by varietal classifications, New World producers have significantly reduced the knowledge of French wine necessarily required to distinguish different types and blends of wine. This combined with tasting notes and the demarcation of quantified quality on wine bottle labels – and with the rise of wine critics such as Robert Parker and Bob Campbell and the overall instructional ethos of wine clubs, wine retailers and vineyard websites – has ensured that it is now comparatively easy for a New World consumer to distinguish between red and white, good and poor wines. Thus the knowledgeable purchase, and quite possibly the appreciative consumption, of wine is now fundamentally accessible to any individual with the requisite desire and financial resources.

The tiered commodification of wine

Clearly possessing the financial resources required to purchase good quality wine is an essential component of elevated social distinction. In some respects, however, the economic capital required for wine consumption has also been democratised or at least has become less restrictive, especially due to the monetary support offered by credit-card finances (Appadurai 1996: 80). Furthermore, there have been a number of producer initiatives, ranging from the promotion of niche consumption via tiered or gradated wines through to the development of singular modes of consumption (e.g. single bottle or glass sales).

As noted, the quality of wine, and especially of mid-priced wines, has improved markedly over the past few decades and wine drinkers may now routinely consume good quality wine for comparatively low-cost. At the same time vineyards in Martinborough, New Zealand and internationally have produced a range of good quality wines that are tiered or ranked according to price, quality and availability. For example, Palliser Estate produced Chardonnay, Sauvignon Blanc and Pinot Noir wines under two labels – Pencarrow and Palliser Estate. The latter was the premier label and in 2007 a bottle of Palliser Estate Pinot Noir (2005) retailed at \$42NZ and a bottle of Pencarrow Pinot Noir (2006) at \$22NZ (www.palliser.co.nz, November 2007). Martinborough Vineyard also produced tiered Pinot Noir, ranging from the modestly priced Te Tara label (\$30NZ for 2006 Pinot Noir) up to the Martinborough Vineyard label (\$60NZ for 2005 Pinot Noir – www.martinborough-vineyard.co.nz, November 2007). The lesser Pinot Noirs were produced from the youngest vines and in exceptional vintages they also produced a Martinborough Vineyard Reserve (1991, 1994, 1996, 1997, 1998) that sold for more than \$120NZ per bottle.

Generally the larger the winemaker in terms of acreage and grape tonnage, the greater the number of tiers of wine produced. For example, Villa Maria, one of New Zealand's largest wine producers, with vineyards in the Hawkes Bay, Marlborough, Gisborne and Auckland regions, produces five "distinct ranges" (www.villamaria.co.nz, August 2006). The Single Vineyard wines are the most exclusive in terms of quantity and quality, and accordingly are the most expensive. Interestingly, with a reference toward the French notions of *terroir* these wines are described as: "Wines with Identity" ...[which] reflect the unique characteristics of one

particular vineyard site. Ideally the winemaking approach is non-interventional, allowing the wine to take its own path” (www.villamaria.co.nz, August 2006). These are followed, in descending order, by the Reserve, Cellar Selection, Private Bin and Riverstone labels. Whereas a Single Vineyard wine typically retailed at between \$30-\$60NZ a bottle, Riverstone wines of the same varietal could be purchased for under \$10NZ (www.glengarry.co.nz, November 2007).

The ranking or grading of wine in terms of quality and price, in part, institutionally establishes a mechanism by which wines, consumers and consumption occasions may be similarly stratified. It also represents an attempt by producers to maximise market share and economic returns by providing consumers, who possess widely divergent financial and cultural capitals, a range of market entry opportunities. Consumers are thus enabled to purchase wine across a range of prices and quality, and through the promotional rhetoric typically associated with niche consumption strategies they are also socially validated in their reflexive choices (Rouse 1996). For example, Pencarrow wines from Palliser Estate were cast within the valued idiom of New World experimentation and were said to provide inexpensive quality, presumably for the discerning consumer - both fiscally and in terms of taste:

“Under this label we produce **quality wines** that are at a **lower price point** than those under the Palliser brand. We are able to **experiment with wine styles**. For example the Pencarrow Chardonnay is a lightly oaked Chardonnay....These wines are well recognised as being **quality wine at an affordable price**” (www.palliser.co.nz, November 2007 – emphasis mine).

Villa Maria similarly described its low-priced Riverstone label as a: “A limited selection of best selling varietals that are extremely affordable and ideal for those price conscious consumers who demand quality and want a brand they can trust” (www.villamaria.co.nz, November 2007). This promotion also clearly denoted notions of social exclusivity and appreciative discernment that were attributed to the elite consumers of their top wines:

“**Reserve:** Showcasing the very best of a region, Reserve wines focus on displaying optimal purity of fruit. Only the most premium grapes from a selection of prominent vineyards are used to ensure a wine of utmost quality” (www.villamaria.co.nz, November 2007 – emphasis in original).

Tiered production also enables individuals to purchase affordable wines from top vineyards and thereby display, or be socially accorded, the cultural capital and social distinction which is typically attributed to the elite consumers of wines sourced from top producers and vineyards. Interestingly a number of top French producers have also implemented this innovation and in 1976 Château Haut-Brion introduced a vintage-dated second tier wine under Btans-Haut-Brion label (Robinson 1999: 345). Château Lafite-Rothschild, also a first growth Bordeaux vineyard, produces tiered wines that are apparently “easier to drink on a daily basis” (www.lafite.com, October 2006). The promotional material for Château Lafite-Rothschild’s second-tiered wines also reproduces the nexus of historical, generational, familial, urbane and reflexive (e.g. friendship, pleasure etc) ideals previously discussed:

“Collection Barons de Rothschild-Lafite

Uniting ancestral savoir-faire and modern life

In addition to the wines produced from their prestigious vineyards, the Barons de Rothschild have for many years created a range of wines which are easier to drink on a daily basis. They were called the Réerves des Barons, as at the beginning they were destined for close friends and family... By creating this COLLECTION, DBR-Lafite has demonstrated its determination to offer real classic Bordeaux wines for immediate pleasure” (www.lafite.com, October 2006 – emphasis in original).

Singular consumption

Quality wines, together with many gourmet foods and elite restaurant dining experiences, have become increasingly available (both financially and in terms of requisite cultural capital) to ever greater sections of the emerging middle classes. Consequently, they have been increasingly pursued as conspicuous sources of hedonistic pleasure and as performative markers of social distinction (Bourdieu 1984; Demossier 2004, 2005; Finkelstein 1989, 2004; Sloan 2004). As noted, Arnaud de Pontac’s establishment of Haut-Brion and Pontac labels in 1660, and his subsequent initiative in opening the luxurious Pontack’s Head in London (Johnson 1998: 201-203), marked watersheds in the development of wine as an elite and conspicuous commodity. Wine was distanced from being chiefly consumed as a stable, non-hazardous drink (replacing water that was often contaminated) and was therefore cast as a luxury and

performative commodity. Increasingly wine was consumed in leisure and for the pleasure of its taste, intoxicating effects and to conspicuously display economic, social and cultural capitals (Fuller 1996; Johnson 1998).

The subsequent development of a diversity of public wine and food consumption spaces, especially cafés, wine bars, hotels and restaurants, also resulted in the experience of dining out being significantly individualised (Finkelstein 1989; Sloan 2004). In such performative settings consumers are effectively enabled to monitor and assess the stylised conventions of others (e.g. clothing, deportment, wine selections etc) with a view to mimicry, rejection or innovation. They are also enabled, via their consumption practices, to enact and performatively display their self-assembled (inter)subjectivities of gender, sociality, social distinction and so on. As noted, a number of tourists told me that one of their holiday pleasures in Martinborough was to *'people watch'* (and I assume to also self-display) while dining at local eateries, either inside or at sidewalk tables, and whilst walking around the vineyards:

'I love to see what people are wearing or eating and drinking...it's one way of keeping up with the trends' (Female, wine tourist, mid-30's).

Arnaud de Pontac's 17th century initiatives also signalled the conceptualisation and consumption of wine as a conspicuously singular commodity, initially sold in cork-stopped glass bottles as opposed to a simple bulk commodity distributed in wooden barrels. Thus the conspicuous consumption of high-quality Haut-Brion at Pontack's Head only required a cork-screw, a drinking vessel (if civilised), and perhaps some complimentary foods. While still expensive at seven shillings a bottle (Johnson 1998: 203), the financial outlay required was considerably less than the hundreds of pounds for the purchase of a barrel, which would have also required expensive cellaring. Moreover, singular consumption does not necessarily require extensive wine knowledge as consumers can assume that the most expensive wine on a tavern or restaurant menu is the best quality and so on. Thus displays of elite distinction, in terms of the cultural and economic capitals associated with fine wine, can be engaged without the same degree of capital acquisition and investment historically required of individuals. This development has also contributed to the democratisation of the social distinctions of fine wine consumption, or at least made this more accessible to greater portions of the middle classes. The conspicuous consumption of wine in such

settings still retained stratifying mechanisms, with wealthier patrons able to purchase greater quantities of wine for themselves or perhaps for groups of friends. Moreover, erudite wine connoisseurs were more capable of discerning that not all expensive wines are necessarily quality wines.

The increasing prevalence of single bottle sales and more latterly of single glass sales in cafés, restaurants, and specialist wine bars has made wine a highly performative and nuanced marker of economic, social and cultural distinction. Tourists were characteristically very aware of the social distinction accorded to individuals who consume expensive, high-quality wines. Some said they were conscious of other diners at restaurants assessing or noting their wine purchases, and some had taken home their empty bottles of elite wine to retain as keepsakes and to *'show-off'* to their friends. Consumers, however, need only to purchase a single bottle or glass of top-quality, expensive wine to performatively fulfil their distinction aspirations in a specific context, even as daily or regular consumption of such elite commodities remains beyond their financial reaches. Indeed a feature of wine consumption in Martinborough was the episodic, and at times ersatz, consumption of fine wine and accordant displays of elite distinction. Thus a significant number of tourists said that when on holiday in Martinborough they would *'treat'* themselves to a particularly expensive and top-quality wine that they coveted and had either read about in wine reviews or had been informed about by friends, via wine awards etc. Many said that these wines were typically beyond their everyday financial means, thereby also highlighting the potentially idealised character of leisured or touristic consumption.

Several tourists said they had purposely attended comparative wine tastings, mostly run by wine retailers in Wellington, so they could sample, by the part-glassful, fine wines that were typically beyond their budget even at single bottle prices. One tourist told me that they had previously, when dining at Martinborough restaurants, used his credit card to purchase expensive bottles of wine that were beyond his immediate financial resources to impress *'pretty girls'* (sic), and on one occasion, a former high-school colleague. Indeed he said he could only afford the wine by incrementally paying off the outstanding debt incurred on his credit card. He also said his knowledge of wine was *'basic at best'*, but he had simply assumed the expensive wines were also of high quality. Moreover, he said both the *'pretty girls'* (sic) and the former high-school

colleague were impressed by his largesse and his apparent connoisseur-like knowledge of wine. The combination of a singular means of consumption, the democratised cultural capital of the restaurant wine list and the delayed payment facilitated by credit-card purchasing enabled this individual to successfully indulge in faux, although socially validated, displays of elevated social distinction.

Reflexive distinction

The democratisation and singularity of wine consumption may appear to dismiss associated social stratification mechanisms and consequently to flatten hierarchies of distinction. Although the democratisation of wine consumption clearly provides a performative space for a diversity of reflexive “self assembly” (Sloan 2004: 26) practices and narratives, it nonetheless simultaneously maintains a resilient ethos of social hierarchy and distinction. As noted, the tourists’ mythologised New World wine ethos and ‘*French tradition*’ of fine wine collusively recreated the stratifying mechanisms and hierarchies of distinction. Thus a diverse range of personal wine tastes, together with the widespread recognition of elite wines and the associated high status of their consumers, were institutionally facilitated and validated. Moreover, the democratised, singular, episodic, credit-fuelled and conspicuous consumption of fine wine advanced notions of social distinction and hierarchy by enabling individuals of different means (re: financial, social and cultural capitals) to negotiate and potentially emulate the elevated distinction attributed to fine wine consumption.

Within this dialogic nexus a space, especially within conspicuous settings such as Martinborough wineshops, restaurants and within casual social gatherings of friends or acquaintances (e.g. workplace drinks, friendly barbeques), was therefore created for the affirmative assertion of narratives of reflexive distinction. The tourists’ narratives of reflexive distinction incorporated both personalised assessments and negotiations of stratification criterion (i.e. which wines are regarded as elite); of individuals’ comparative rankings within hierarchies of wine consumers; and of the validity of the social hierarchies per se.

The range of distinction narratives varied considerably. Many tourists commented that performative displays of social distinction were context variable and accordingly, deployment of associated cultural and economic capitals should be situational. For

example, many noted that while good wine should be consumed in a fine dining context, fruit wine was perfectly reasonable at a casual barbeque. Equally there were public narratives that celebrated the personal attainment or maintenance of elevated social distinction. Such achievement narratives were typified by tourists who openly discussed and positively affirmed their experiences of consuming fine wine, high wage or profit earnings, purchases of expensive cars, costly overseas holidays, extensive home renovations or upgrades, holiday-home purchases etc. Similarly many tourists produced adulatory, emulative or aspirational narratives of social distinction, most often when openly daydreaming about the idyllic lifestyle of owning a Martinborough vineyard or of driving an expensive car they had sighted in Martinborough.

However, a significant number of tourists articulated narratives that indicated they were unsuccessful or disinterested in pursuing elevated status, while some disavowed the pursuit of elite distinction completely. Some lamented their lack of success in distinction endeavours such as securing high-paying employment or undertaking overseas travel, usually citing social and economic impediments (e.g. of '*raising a family*'). Others proclaimed a complete lack of interest or commitment to participating in social distinction competitions, especially in relation to the recognition and consumption of top-quality wine. Some articulated '*I know what I like*' narratives that affirmed and validated their personal tastes for lesser wines. As noted, others dismissed wine connoisseurship as '*pretentious posing*', or expressed that they were happy with their '*lot*' and that it was too much '*hard work*' to acquire knowledge of, and to keep up with trends, in wine. These narratives, even though lamenting personally low rankings or disavowing status competitions, paradoxically recognised and affirmed the existence of hierarchies of social distinction. The narratives also centred on the attainment or retention of a praiseworthy self and thereby conformed to the dominant ideal of reflexive individuality.

The enduring ethos of middle class distinction and the mythology of the '*French tradition*' of fine wine production and consumption combined to resolutely assert that the best people drink the best wines or that the best wine is drunk on the most momentous of occasions. But what specifically qualifies as best (in terms of wine, people or occasion) is open to continual intra-class (Bourdieu 1984) and individual contestment (Beck 2002). The New World wine ethos of experimentation and

innovation, the democratisation of wine consumption and the social affirmation of personalised tastes effectively sanctions that a diversity of wine consumers are accorded reflexive and social distinction merit. Thus individuals are enabled, especially in conspicuous consumption settings inhabited by a divergent plethora of consumers or by casual groupings of friends and acquaintances, to construct performances and narratives that affirm their reflexive perspectives of wine and social distinction – and which also cast the narrating self as autonomous, coherent, reflective, progressive and praiseworthy.

In other words, for every reflexive subject in such settings, and whether the individual is socially marked by the absence or prevalence of valued social, economic and cultural capitals, there exists a significant space for a range of praiseworthy narratives of the self that do not necessarily adore, ignore or invalidate the stratifying mechanisms or consequential structures of social hierarchy. Tourists were thus legitimated to construct narratives and performative practices that adroitly validated their personal wine consumption irrespective of their relative (or indeed personally fluctuating) economic or social circumstances. Nevertheless the integrity of the hierarchisation of social distinction was maintained and moreover, tourists routinely stratified and ranked each other. The articulation of narratives of reflexive distinction and the various performative assertions of a praiseworthy reflexive self did, however, partially alleviate the potential consequences (e.g. conspicuous shame or social exile) of the public and comparative downclassing of individuals.

Conclusion

The increasing nuance of status stratification that emerges from the democratisation of connoisseurship and singular, episodic, payment-delayed modes of consumption was reflected in the social validation of the differences in tourists' personal tastes and orientations towards, and narratives of, reflexive distinction. These factors also contributed to, and were influenced by, the general middle classing of New Zealand society. Although whether narratives of reflexive distinction, and especially those that expressed disinterest, disavowment or disdain for the stratification mechanisms and consequential hierarchies of middle class status, were 'face-saving' utterances publicly voiced by low ranking individuals or those subjected to downclassing processes, was difficult to comprehensively ascertain within the confines of my research. Such analysis

would require highly detailed, multi-contextual, longitudinal and comparative study of various individual's narratives and practices of social distinction, together with an assessment of their latent and manifest understandings, motivations and ideals. Likewise, it was impossible to ascertain the veracity of narratives and performances of elevated social distinction, irrespective of whether these were expressions of achievement, emulation or adulation. Such displays may have directly correlated with the substantive acquisition of, or desire for, elite distinction in terms of valued economic, cultural, and social capitals, or they could have simply been fantastical Walter Mitty¹³⁹ styled assertions.

Analysis of veracity or imposture is not at issue in this thesis. What is noteworthy, however, is the tourists' narratives of reflexive distinction combined with their conspicuous assertions of personal tastes and associated displays of individual choice and sociality to facilitate the construction of autobiographical narratives and performances that routinely affirmed an ideal reflexive self. Aside from highlighting an individual's autonomy, coherence, reflective self-awareness etc, narratives of reflexive distinction also fundamentally asserted that the specific position or orientation advocated by the uttering individual was beneficial to their well-being.

In fact narratives of reflexive distinction were not characteristically subject to contestation by others. The only challenges or negations I was aware of were those directed toward expressions of disdain for wine connoisseurship. These were mostly framed in terms of affirming that some individuals do in fact possess educated and sophisticated palates. In some instances, however, individuals still agreed that connoisseurship was often expressed in a pretentious manner and that they disliked '*wine snobbery*'. There was also contestment of emulative narratives, although these were mostly phrased in terms of jocularly assertions that the aspirational individual was '*day-dreaming*' and that their desire for social elevation was somehow misplaced or fantastical. These contesting narratives appeared to be deployed as a social levelling mechanism by dismissing the aspirational individual's claims to elevated status.

¹³⁹ Walter Mitty is a fictional character in James Thurber's book "My World – and Welcome to It" published in 1942. Mitty is depicted as a meek, mild character who nevertheless has a vivid fantasy life and variously imagines himself as a wartime pilot, surgeon, and as a hired killer (Thurber 1942).

The tourists' narratives of reflexive distinction did not, however, attempt to deny or invalidate the saliency of stratification mechanisms or hierarchies of social distinction. In fact assertions of reflexive distinction directly referenced and reproduced the import of status hierarchies. As noted, most tourists characteristically regarded the consumption of Martinborough wines and holidays as middle class activities that signified their "distance from necessity" (Bourdieu 1984: 6) and they were also sensitive to differences in social status. As such the tourists satisfied another ideal of reflexive individuality by constructively engaging the autobiographical narratives and practices of stratified others.

Middle class distinction, together with the mechanisms of status stratification and hierarchy negotiation, were also facilitated by the tourists' mythologisation of the '*French tradition*' of fine wine and the New World wine ethos of innovation and experimentation. These influences combined to endorse Martinborough wines as elite, albeit tiered, commodities, the consumption of which concurrently validated assertions of reflexive tastes, stratified status and personal orientations toward social distinction. The entangled dialogics of ideal reflexive individuality and middle class distinction were thus structurally facilitated in Martinborough's performative and leisured consumption settings via the democratisation of the cultural capital of appreciative wine consumption, and via the singular, episodic and delayed-payment purchases of fine wine.

Although the entangled ideals of reflexive individualism and middle class distinction resonated throughout Martinborough's wine tourism activities, the economic imperative of simultaneously providing multiple market entry points and consumption strategies that enable stratified distinction should not be underestimated. Commodity consumption creates individual (inter)subjectivities and is also the primary means by which groups and individuals struggle to socially distinguish themselves (Bourdieu 1984; Douglas & Isherwood 1996). In any competitive, stratifying system where elevated status and associated rewards (especially economic and social) are deemed to be finite, the potential clearly exists for the majority to experience disappointment, dissatisfaction or even disenfranchisement when subjected to down-classing or lowly ranking. Thus the institutional validation of ideal reflexive individualism, especially in terms of personal tastes and choices displayed within the arenas of conspicuous

consumption and reflexive sociality, may function to facilitate “illusio... belief in the game” (Bourdieu 1984: 54) of distinction stratification and hierarchisation. This was readily apparent in the tourists’ narratives of reflexive distinction through which they fundamentally asserted that they are happy with their lot, whether this was aspirational or disinterested. Even individuals who claimed a distinct lack of success were enabled to utter reflexive narratives that explained or justified their circumstances and thereby minimally avowed a self-aware and reflective ideal self. Thus tourists were encouraged to maintain faith in the entangled presuppositions of social distinction, stratification, hierarchisation and reflexive individualism. Although it could equally be argued that the institutional validation of reflexive narratives, which are essentially stories of self-justification, also served to obscure the logic of stratified distinction – namely, like the best wines, the best social positions are always finite and in limited supply.

Chapter Nine:

Conclusion

Mary Douglas' insight that "sampling a drink is sampling what is happening to a whole category of social life" (1989: 9) appears particularly apt to an analysis of Martinborough wine tourists' constructs and practices of place, leisure, consumption and sociality. In casting Martinborough as an enchanted metro-rural idyll, the wine tourists fundamentally framed their holiday retreats as gifts to themselves and intimate others, through which they were enabled to dialogically construct, pursue, narrate, perform and ultimately reconcile valued '*middle class*' distinction and ideal reflexive individuality.

The tourists' orientation toward, and pursuit of, these simultaneously complementary and contradictory dispositions was generated within their entangled habitus of educational, occupational and consumerist backgrounds. The pursuit of social distinction universally manifests as a struggle over the differential construction, acquisition and deployment of economic, social, cultural and symbolic capitals. In late-modern societies social distinction is particularly characterised by individualised competition, stratification and accordant hierarchies of status and reward. Reflexivity is also a universal process by which individuals construct formative and becoming notions of the self and other. The institutionalisation of individualism in late-modern societies has, however, resulted in a pervasive habitus of reflexive individualism, which is especially influential amongst the affluent and tertiary-educated middle classes.

The habitus of reflexive individualism, which is mediated through a plethora of other habitus (e.g. ethnicity, religion) and is enacted in a diversity of fields of action, generates a widespread notion of ideal reflexive individuality. The ideal reflexive individual is cast as the architect of their own destiny and as someone who is consequentially dedicated to a variety of self-assembly projects across a broad spectrum of fields of action (e.g. educational, occupational, political, social connectedness etc). Specifically the ideal reflexive individual perceives themselves to be, or is socially recognised as, highly differentiated or unique; autonomous in thought, action and interaction; dedicated to self-improvement or growth; embraces self as a series of self-generated intersubjectivities and life-trajectories; actively interprets and positions

themselves in relation to various socio-cultural narratives (e.g. scientific knowledge; religious beliefs etc); is attentive of the biographical narratives of themselves and actively creates biographies of others; is adept, creative and dynamic, especially when faced with novelty or diversity; intentionally forms rewarding pure relationships and social networks; effectively uses rational evaluations and subjective passion where appropriate; and who articulates their (inter)subjectivity as a series of autobiographical narratives that validate and affirm an independent, coherent, progressive and praiseworthy notion of self.

Individual and social existence in late modern societies is, however, paradoxical. Firstly, existence is characterised by perpetual change, uncertainty, risk and multiple authorities in virtually all fields of action, although reflexive individuals are socialised to value the consequential diversity, novelty and pluralisms as potential opportunities for personal development. The disciplines and repetitive routines of employment, domesticity, governmental politics and nationalism, however, frequently stymie reflexive innovation, variety and experimentation, and are thus perceived to thwart the manifest practice of ideal reflexive individuality. This tension between institutional facilitation and constraint induces many to be drawn toward fields of action where they perceive the greatest opportunities for personal autonomy, progressive development, narrative articulation and performance of a praiseworthy self. Thus individuals seek the experience of ideal reflexive individuality in plotting and negotiating educational and occupational pathways, or in committing to various political movements. Martinborough's tourists specifically sought ideal reflexive individuality in leisured consumption; reflexive sociality; biographised production – consumption – purchase relationships; and in the autobiographical narratives and conspicuous performances they reproduced in various touristic fields of action.

Modes of conspicuous, performative consumption are especially significant in the display, assessment and negotiation of social and reflexive distinctions. This is particularly evident in the consumption of wine, food, clothing, body ornamentation and in other forms of personalised, yet portable, commodities displayed in public arenas. Performative places such as hotels, restaurants, cafés, vineyards, shopping precincts and other public arenas are often intentionally staged as enchanted theatres of

conspicuous consumption in which spectacles of social distinction are both flaunted and critically observed by participating individuals.

The concurrent rise of niche commodity production and of associated singular, episodic (e.g. touristic) and payment-delayed modes of consumption has, however, resulted in conspicuous consumption increasingly becoming a marker of reflexive distinction. Moreover, these influences have seemingly fragmented the historical association of differential forms of consumption with the social stratification of consumers. This milieu, together with the celebratory ethos that surrounds popular notions of reflexive individualism, creates a situation whereby the consumption of commodities, especially recreational, leisured and ornamental items (e.g. clothing, jewellery, cellphones, cars, music etc), are significantly sanctioned as worthwhile expressions of personalised identity. Correspondingly many of the historical associations of elevated social status and distinct forms of privileged consumption (e.g. opera) are increasingly contested and nuanced, especially in terms of what constitutes elite consumption. Moreover, the celebration of niche and reflexive consumption casts all consumers as noteworthy and therefore not necessarily disaffected by down-classing or comparatively lower social rankings attributed to their differential forms of consumption. Indeed there is a clear financial imperative for producers, advertisers and retailers to ensure all consumers are potentially happy with the 'game' regardless of their current or aspirational social standing. This appears especially important for individuals inhabiting the middle class where their struggles for social distinction are often characterised by blurred and often fluctuating economic, occupational and domestic circumstances.

In this regard leisured consumption appears especially influential. Firstly, leisured consumption, as exemplified by tourism or recreational pursuits, signifies an individuals' distance from the necessity and constraints of employment, domesticity or other everyday compulsions. Secondly, leisured consumption is commonly undertaken in the company of reflexively intimates, and is thus frequently perceived as an opportunity to enjoy '*quality time*' with intimates. Accordingly leisured consumption is routinely cast as an experience where personal pleasure is paramount, and where the unfettered, authentic and ideal self can be robustly experienced. The cultural capitals that inform many elite forms of leisured consumption, for example the connoisseurship that underscores the appreciative consumption of fine wine and gourmet foods, have

however been significantly democratised. Thus the formative habitus of a socially elite family and educational background is no longer necessary to engage many forms of elite consumption, as individuals can increasingly rely on the recommendations of recognised experts (e.g. wine and food critics) or the instructional texts (e.g. tasting notes) that producers often supply with luxury commodities such as wine. Classifications of quality, which previously involved individuals undertaking years of reflective and comparative consumption, are now also readily accessible to the novice consumer through omnipresent five-star rating systems or via a bevy of awards and citations of excellence. These innovations combine with the evolution of singular, episodic consumption and often credit-card delayed payment to produce forms of consumption readily enable the conspicuous engagement of elite consumption to fall within the scope of a far greater array of socially stratified individuals. Indeed when undertaken in an episodic manner the opportunity exists for individuals to indulge in intentionally ersatz or merely playful emulation of elite forms of consumption. These modes also enable individuals to readily indulge reflexive consumption practices and strategies.

This does not mean, however, that social stratification and hierarchy as manifested through the differential possession, deployment and consumption of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capitals is in anyway collapsed. In fact the leisured consumption of urbane, cosmopolitan and luxury commodities appears to especially denote elevated social distinction and within performative fields such as Martinborough wine tourism, it also conspicuously signifies the successful acquisition of a diversity of valued capitals. Although middle class distinction may be increasingly contested, blurred and variable, stratification mechanisms clearly continue to exist and are accorded value by many individuals. Thus the consumption of Grand Cru French Burgundy is typically considered more prestigious than simply drinking a table red. Moreover, some commodities are accorded Lovemark-style status and are enduring emblems of elite status. In fact many of Martinborough's tourists were particularly attuned to the nuance in individuals' differential deployment of economic, social and cultural capitals. Accordingly anyone perceived to possess wine connoisseurship, significant financial wherewithal or who maintained friendly relationships with a renowned winemaker was accorded higher status than those deficient in all, or any of these, capitals. Stratification mechanisms of up or down-classing and hierarchies of social distinction not only

patently continue to exist, but also contain the potential to negate, disrupt or enhance the pursuit of ideal reflexive individuality. My thesis thus explores some of the entangled and dialogic ways in which Martinborough's tourists conspicuously constructed, pursued and reconciled both middle class distinction (general and hierarchical) and ideal reflexive individuality.

In the first instance Martinborough was promoted and enacted as a metro-rural idyll, that is a touristic and performative locale embedded within the invented, enduring mythology and bucolic morality of a vernacular rural idyll, yet dedicated to the conspicuous consumption of urbane commodities and cosmopolitanism (see Fig.38.). Accordingly many tourists desired to gaze upon sylvan, picturesque landscapes, to sleep in romantic and historic homestays, and to purchase hand-crafted goods directly from their rural artisan producers. They also spoke warmly of the social intimacy of farming families and desired to experience neighbourliness ideally attributed to rural communities. Thus many tourists waved hello to strangers they passed while wandering around the vineyards and many sought friendly interactions with homestay operators, retailers and winemakers.

Although cast as a bucolic, episodic and reinvigorating 'escape' from the tribulations of metropolitan existence, tourists characteristically regarded a Martinborough holiday as an enchanted opportunity to experience leisured consumption and thus to performatively enact their middle class distinctions. Much of Martinborough, from the faux European architecture of wineries to the neo-modernism of second-home subdivisions and consumption of fine wine, resonated with transnational middle class cosmopolitanism that routinely referenced stylised French, Italian or Euro-chic urbanity. Thus while Martinborough tourists typically wanted to holiday in a colonial cottage with a fireplace and bath big enough for two, they also required sophisticated, luxurious surrounds and hi-tech appliances. Indeed the tourists' desire for hand-crafted rural products was almost exclusively focused on urbane and cosmopolitan commodities such as wine, gourmet foodstuffs and elegant, ornamental crafts. Lastly, the tourists most desired to establish intimate social relationships with renowned winemakers, homestay operators or restaurateurs, indeed anyone who could best facilitate their cosmopolitan desires and social distinction aspirations. The metro-rural idyll of Martinborough was thus a performative setting for the consumption and display

of middle class distinction, which was consistently stratified via the construction of hierarchies based on differential quality, opulence and exclusivity that were attributed to commodities such Dry River wines and the holiday accommodation offered by the Martinborough Hotel.

However, the metro-rurality of Martinborough also facilitated the performative enactment of ideal reflexive individuality. Whenever a tourist purchased a Martinborough commodity their personal choices and tastes were not only performatively enacted, but were also routinely affirmed by their rural ‘hosts’ such as cellar assistants. Indeed the desired relationships with rural producers were also, in part, a process where both manufacturer and consumer were biographised as distinct individuals. In addition, although tourists waxed lyrical about farming families, most with dependent, live-at-home children left them behind so they could spend quality, leisured time with their friends and lovers. Thus the metro-rural idyll effectively framed Martinborough as a romantic setting where the reflexive sociality of the tourists was ideally enacted and displayed.

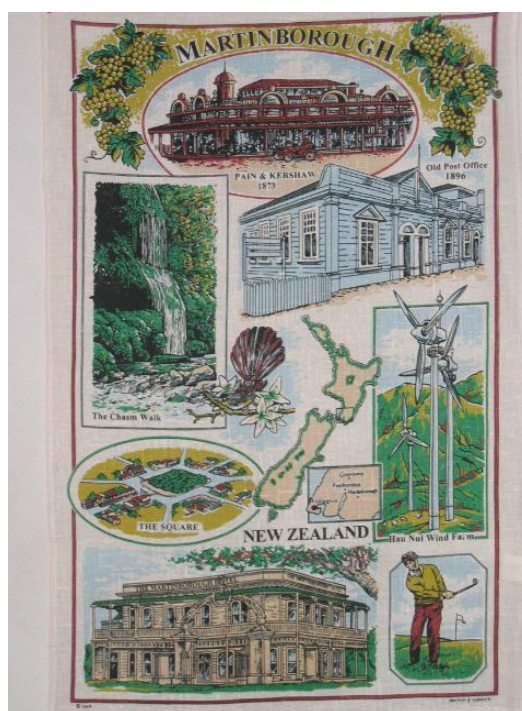


Fig.38. A commemorative tea towel promoting the varied metro-rural delights of Martinborough – historic buildings, the middle class recreational leisure of golf, pristine nature, the progressive technology of wind turbines and bucolic, yet urbane, wine grapes resplendent on the vine. All that is missing is a depiction of the neo-modernist houses and faux Euro-styled wineries. The image of Pain & Kershaw’s general store (top middle), however, is pre-1942 as the ornate frontage depicted was destroyed in the earthquake of that year.

Secondly, the in-situ consumption of wine, which is one of the tourists' prime motivations for holidaying in Martinborough, was also a performative act of middle class distinction. The history of wine repeatedly demonstrates that the best wines have been the reserve of the best people and the most momentous of social occasions. Since the 17th century and the subsequent European settlement of New World societies, however, vineyard specific wines have been increasingly demarcated according to quality and cost. Since this time the possession of the economic capital to purchase expensive wines, the cultural capital of connoisseurship to appreciate fine wines, and the social capital of an intimate relationship with a renowned winemaker or wine expert have been prized as markers of elite distinction. The natural ephemerality of wine as evidenced by variations between vintages, winemakers and in cellaring, and especially the capacity of fine wines to progressively mature over time, has been highly prized by 18th century connoisseurs onwards and likewise by the contemporary middle classes who characteristically value novelty and progressive change.

Most Martinborough tourists, including those who did not ascribe or aspire to connoisseurship, were somehow sensitive to variations in the quality and expense of different wines. Accordingly the consumers of Martinborough's best wines were accorded high social status. Winemakers advocated this notion by consistently marketing the exclusivity of their award-winning wines and by highlighting flattering endorsements by respected wine critics. Furthermore, Martinborough's flagship wine, Pinot Noir, was routinely touted as the most difficult to produce to consistently high-quality and the most sensuous to appreciatively consume. This nexus of elite wines, winemakers and wine drinkers was significantly endorsed by the mythology of an enduring '*French tradition*' of fine wine. This was typically espoused by winemakers to explain their pursuit of excellence and their associated use of classical French wine making techniques. It was also espoused by appreciative consumers whenever endorsing optimal wine consumption protocols. Notions of the '*French tradition*' set the gold standards of wine transnationally and were continually referenced by tourists when asserting the high quality of Martinborough wines. Although in such instances the New World ethos of progressive innovation, experimentation, and the consequential consistent production of high quality wine, was also likely to be invoked by

winemakers and tourists alike, albeit within a nationalistic idiom that celebrated the pioneership and progressive quality of New Zealand wines in general.

In addition, the New World '*cult of the winemaker*' asserted that the palate, skill, philosophies and ideals of an individual winemaker significantly determined the taste characteristics and quality of wine. Thus renowned Martinborough winemakers readily achieved celebrity-like status and were dialogically cast by the media and tourists as exemplary middle class urbanites and ideal reflexive individuals. As idyllic cosmopolitans, Martinborough winemakers were biographically lauded for producing a consummate urbane commodity in wine, their personal tastes in architecture, interior design etc and for achieving '*work-life balance*', especially in respect of successfully combining occupational and domestic endeavours. Thus an intimate social connection with a renowned Martinborough winemaker was a highly valued capital that was sought by many tourists. Indeed, winemakers also frequently hosted, and were courted by, members of the national and international elite, ranging from political leaders to corporate executives. As ideal reflexive individuals Martinborough's winemakers were routinely exalted as autonomous, progressive, technologically savvy, passionate yet analytically reflective individuals.

Ideal reflexive individuality was also attributed to the conspicuous consumption of Martinborough wine, especially in local performative settings such as restaurants, cafés and in the casual social gatherings of friends and acquaintances in the nearby metropolis of Wellington. Clearly the personal selection and purchase of a Martinborough wine, indeed of any leisure-orientated, luxury commodity, was a performative statement of self-assembly. Furthermore, wine consumed at social occasions that significantly highlighted the reflexive self (e.g. birthday, wedding anniversary etc), or indeed intentionally shared with reflexive intimates or associates at a Martinborough café or picnic, were likewise performative displays of reflexive sociality and ideal reflexive individuality.

Indeed in performative settings such as the wine shops on Martinborough's vineyards, tourists were typically encouraged to articulate their personal wine preferences and tastes. The assertion of personal wine tastes effectively functioned as unassailable default narratives of ideal reflexive individuality, stressing that the uttering individual

was autonomous, unique, coherent and self-aware. Tourists' personal wine tastes were rarely publicly contested by those in the wine industry, and even when challenged or derided by friends personal tastes and inclinations, this never resulted in any social ostracism or exclusion. In fact the social recognition and consequence of personal taste narratives also constructively referenced the pervasive vernacular mythology of egalitarianism and the general middle classing of New Zealand society.

The New World wine ethos of progressive innovation invoked a form of connoisseurship that likewise favoured experimentation and eclecticism in wine consumption. Bargain hunting and the quest to discover inexpensive, good quality and previously 'undiscovered' wines was highly valued amongst New Zealand connoisseurs and by erudite, appreciative consumers. New World connoisseurship legitimated ordinary consumers to assemble eclectic and diverse personal tastes in wine, further enhancing the pervasive ethos of reflexive consumption and associated assertions of ideal reflexive individuality. Amongst Martinborough's tourists the wine recommendations that were most sought were significantly personalised, either from named and biographised wine producers, critics and connoisseurs, or via word-of-mouth recommendations from respected friends or associates.

The singular, payment-delayed, episodic and conspicuous nature of wine drinking in Martinborough not only enabled tourists' to readily indulge their personal tastes and likewise reproduce the elevated social distinction attributed to the consumption of expensive and fine wine. Moreover, it also facilitated opportunities for experimentation, play and even ersatz displays of economic affluence or connoisseurship. Indeed singular, credit-card and intermittent consumption may be deployed to maintain one's personal and social distinction performances during times of economic deprivation or in the celebration of personally momentous occasions. The tiered production of wine by quality and expense, the democratisation of the cultural capital of appreciative consumption via varietal labelling, easily interpreted quality rating systems, highly accessible tasting notes and a bevy of approachable and instructional experts (e.g. wine waiters, wine shop hosts), effectively amplified the number of market entry points for consumers. These initiatives also significantly contributed to social validation of the diversity of personalised wine tastes and assessments, blurring but not collapsing the

ascriptions of social distinction associated with wine consumption maintained, in part, by the tourists' *'French tradition'* of fine wine.

The dialogic nexus of self-assembly projects and resilient, albeit increasingly nuanced, distinction ascriptions and hierarchisation provided valid social spaces for tourists to articulate personalised narratives of reflexive distinction. Such utterances expressed in conspicuous consumption settings and in casual gatherings of friends and acquaintances, ranged from celebrations of personal success through to emulative, aspirational, disinterested and even unsuccessful or disavowing narratives of distinction. In addition, they typically incorporated personalised negotiations of stratification criterion, of comparative rankings and of the validity of the social hierarchies per se. The veracity of these narratives requires analysis and they may have functioned as face-saving strategies or Walter Mitty-like fantasies uttered in response to the pressures arising from the competitive struggle for social distinction or to the negative impact of downclassing on individuals' notions of self-worth. Nevertheless it was readily apparent that when combined with the validated touristic performances of reflexive tastes and sociality, these narratives of reflexive distinction likewise asserted a coherent, autonomous, unique autobiographical, socially aware and often progressive self.

Martinborough's tourists were thus encouraged to declare satisfaction with their reflexive lot, be it in terms of social distinction accomplishment or renouncement, of personal tastes and proclivities, or in terms of reflexive sociability with friends, lovers or winemakers. Ultimately Martinborough's tourists were routinely enabled to construct conspicuous narratives and performances that consistently proclaimed their personal achievement of ideal reflexive individuality, while simultaneously maintaining the stratifying mechanisms and hierarchies of social distinction through which most competed for status. The tourists therefore both facilitated and reconciled middle class distinction and ideal reflexive individualism within the performative realms of a Martinborough holiday.

Appendix (A): Martinborough's Wine Tourists

A survey^{140/141} of Martinborough tourists revealed that most were city-dwellers from Wellington, described themselves as 'European', were university educated, professionals (i.e. white collar occupations) and more than 60% had personal incomes of over \$40,000 a year. In other words they were European or Pakeha, middle class leisure-seekers. The results are compared with similar surveys in Martinborough (Abramovici 2002: 53-59), the Wairarapa (Mitchell quoted in Hall et al. 2000: 164) and with the combined results from four New Zealand wine regions – Auckland, Wairarapa, Marlborough and Central Otago (Mitchell quoted in Hall et al. 2000: 164).

(Note: All data below is % unless otherwise indicated e.g. n = 72)

(1) Gender:	Martinborough n = 156 (Howland 2001)	Martinborough n = 120 (Abramovici 2002)	Wairarapa n = 65 (Mitchell 2000)	Central Otago; Wairarapa; Marlborough; Auckland. n = 621 (Mitchell 2000)
Male:	48.1	52.0	46.2	50.8
Female:	51.9	48.0	53.8	49.2
Total %	100	100	100	100

These results compare with 48.8% male and 52.1% female recorded in the 2006 census of New Zealand's population (www.stats.govt.nz, November 2007).

¹⁴⁰ This survey was conducted in part with the help of 6th form geography students from St Patrick's College, Silverstream and was completed in 2000.

¹⁴¹ Although completed in 2000 the survey still has veracity. Nevertheless, some recorded characteristics will have altered. For example, the percentage of tourists visiting Martinborough from elsewhere in New Zealand and overseas is likely to have increased. Also the reasons for visiting may now include 'adventure tourism' (e.g. river rafting etc), corporate/ conference visits and a marked increase in the number of people travelling to attend weddings.

(2) Age:	Martinborough n = 156 (Howland 2001)	Martinborough n = 120 (Abramovici 2002)	NZ Census 2001 (www.nzstats.govt)	Wairarapa n = 65 (Mitchell 2000)	Central Otago; Wairarapa; Marlborough; Auckland. n = 621 (Mitchell 2000)
16-24	3.2				
15-19		0.0	7.1		
18-29				30.8	16.7
25-34	14.1				
20-29		17.0	13.2		
35-44	30.1				
30-39		33.0	15.4	32.3	28.9
40-49		25.0	14.3	10.8	23.3
45-54	24.3				
50-59		21.0	11.3	20.0	20.2
55-64	18.6				
60-69		3.0	7.8		
60+				6.1	10.3
65+	9.6				
70+		1.0	8.6		
Total %	99.9¹⁴²	100		100	99.4

It is difficult to compare age ranges recorded in the different surveys, partly because the age classifications do not correspond. The sample sizes, especially for Martinborough and the Wairarapa, are small and this may have also skewed survey results. Nevertheless, compared with the data from the 2001 New Zealand Census it is apparent that a significant proportion of tourists surveyed were aged between 30-59 years. This is not unexpected as wine consumption in New Zealand is typically an adult activity, especially as the Sale of Liquor Act 1989 prohibits individuals under the age of 18 years from purchasing alcohol and only allows individuals under 18 years old to consume alcohol with the oversight of a legal guardian. Such 'middle-aged' and middle class individuals, and especially those surveyed in Martinborough specifically, were also more likely to have the discretionary income required for wine tourism (see Appendix A: Table 5).

¹⁴² Where totals are less or more 100% this is due to increases/decreases caused by rounding the individual percentages, unless otherwise indicated.

(3) Ethnicity:	Martinborough n = 156 (Howland 2001)	NZ Census (Statistics NZ 2001)
NZ European/ Pakeha	64.7	
European/English	11.5	
European		80.0
Maori	5.8	14.7
Pacific Peoples	0.0	6.5
Other (i.e. Asian, French, North American etc)	17.9	
Asian		6.6
Total %	99.9	106¹⁴³

Neither Abramovici (2002) or Mitchell (2000) recorded ethnicity data. Respondents to my survey were encouraged to self-describe their ethnicity and I combined these into broad categories such as “NZ European/ Pakeha” to enable comparison with the NZ Census data. This revealed that the overwhelming majority of Martinborough tourists were ‘European’ (76.2%) and international tourists (17.9%). This largely reflects the ethnicity recorded in the 2001 Census, although there were significantly fewer tourists who stated their ethnicity as Maori or Pacific.

¹⁴³ Some individuals recorded more than one ethnicity, thus accounting for the total figure greater than 100%.

(4) Education: (highest school qualification)	Martinborough n = 156 (Howland 2001)	Martinborough n = 120 (Abramovici 2002)	Wairarapa n = 65 (Mitchell 2000)	Central Otago; Wairarapa; Marlborough; Auckland. n = 621 (Mitchell 2000)
University degree - Postgraduate	55.7	56.0	59.4	47.6
Some university			1.9	16.3
Post College – polytechnic/trade certificate etc	34.6	23.0	17.2	19.1
College/ high school	9.6	20.0	12.5	16.9
Other		1.0		
Total %	99.9	100	91¹⁴⁴	99.9

Compared with the 2001 Census data for individuals aged 15 years and older in the South Wairarapa and for New Zealand in general (see Table 4(a) - www.stats.govt.nz, November 2007), wine tourists are significantly better educated. However, Martinborough's tourists, most of who reside in the Wellington region, represent a significantly better educated subset of this population.

(4a) Educational level	South Wairarapa	Wellington region	New Zealand
No qualifications	28.8	19.3	23.7
High School	31.5	34.7	34.4
Vocational	18.4	18.2	17.6
University	6.5	16.3	10.1
Not reported	14.8	11.5	14.2
Total %	100	100	100

¹⁴⁴ Only 91% of results were published (Mitchell in Hall et al. 2000: 164).

(5) Annual Personal Income \$NZ:	Martinborough n = 156 (Howland 2001)	Wairarapa n = 65 (Mitchell 2000)	Central Otago; Wairarapa; Marlborough; Auckland. n = 621 (Mitchell 2000)
Not indicated	6.9	1.4	2.3
< \$20,000	4.5	6.3	10.3
\$20,000 - \$29,999	2.5	9.4	8.8
\$30,000 - \$39,999	27.6	17.2	16.0
\$40,000 - \$49,999	22.3	18.8	17.0
\$50,000 - \$59,999	10.7	9.4	12.8
\$60,000 - \$69,999	10.2	7.8	6.3
\$70,000 - \$79,999	3.2	3.1	5.5
\$80,000+		26.6	21.0
\$80,000 - \$90,000	3.8		
\$90,000+	8.3		
Total %	100	100	100

With respect to personal income the small sample size of some of the surveys may have skewed results. For example, only 12.1% of respondents recorded an annual personal income of \$80,000 or more, while Mitchell (2000) recorded 26.6% for Wairarapa tourists and 21% for tourists over the four regions. Nevertheless it is apparent that Martinborough's tourists earned significantly more than the national medium individual income recorded in the 2001 Census, which was \$18,500 per annum; \$24,500 for males and \$14,500 for females. In Wellington City the median individual income was \$27,000. Only 5% of New Zealanders earned more than \$70,000; compared with 12% in the Wellington region. Approximately 53% of New Zealanders earned \$20,000 or less, with the Wellington region recording 41% in the same income bracket (www.stats.govt.nz, November 2007).

I also conducted a survey of households in Martinborough (2001; n = 106). Results were analysed according to whether respondents were domestic/full-time residents or holiday-home owners (all of whom ordinarily resided in Wellington). This revealed that individuals resident in Martinborough earned significantly less than the majority of tourists and dramatically less than individuals with holiday or second-homes in Martinborough:

(5a) Martinborough – Median Annual Incomes	Household	Male	Female	Total Individual
Residents	\$37,722 (n = 90)	\$31,620 (n = 71)	\$23,817 (n = 74)	\$27,638 (n =145)
Holiday Home	\$105,626 (n = 16)	\$88,715 (n = 14)	\$43,542 (n = 12)	\$66,250 (n = 26)

Abramovici (2002) also collected household income levels, with 38% of tourists recorded in the \$100,001-\$200,000 category and 11% in the \$200,001+ category (2003: 58). This largely parallels the situation recorded in my household survey with 62.5% or 10 of 16 holiday home-owners reporting yearly household incomes of \$100,001+.

(6) Occupation:	Martinborough n = 156 (Howland 2001)	Martinborough n = 120 (Abramovici 2002)	Wairarapa n = 65 (Mitchell 2000)	Central Otago; Wairarapa; Marlborough; Auckland. n = 621 (Mitchell 2000)
Professional¹⁴⁵	70.2	78.0	70.8	61.7
Self-employed	10.2	4.0	1.5	0.8
Homemakers	7.0	9.0	4.6	2.3
Other	10.8	8.0	16.9	20.2
Retired	0.0	1.0	3.1¹⁴⁶	12.0
Student	3.0	1.0	1.5	1.8
Unemployed	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
Total %	100	100	100	100

Although the survey samples are small and thus indicative rather than representative, that the majority were employed in professional or white collar industries is consistent with Martinborough tourists' assertions that they were '*middle class*' and that wine consumption was a marker of middle class distinction. The 2001 Census recorded only 49.98% of the labour force as directly employed in 'white collar' occupations and 31% in 'blue-collar' occupations (e.g. fisheries, agriculture etc).

¹⁴⁵ The category of professionals encompasses white collar occupations and includes managers, business owners, tertiary educators, nurses, teachers, and administration staff.

¹⁴⁶ Of Mitchell's (2000) respondents who identified themselves as retirees, 100% of the Wairarapa sample was 'retired professionals', as were 75.7% of the four region sample.

(7) Domestic Residence:	Martinborough n = 156 (Howland 2001)
Wellington	70.5
Wairarapa	7.7
Other New Zealand	16.6
Overseas	5.1
Total %	99.9

Clearly the majority of Martinborough tourists surveyed were from the nearby metropolitan city or region of Wellington. This compares with Mitchell's (2001) Wairarapa survey respondents (n = 65) of which 64.1% were from major New Zealand metropolitan cities (i.e. 50.8% Wellington; 6.2% Auckland 6.2% Christchurch; and 0.9% from Dunedin). Mitchell notes that wine regions that are closer to major metropolitan areas – such as Martinborough or West Auckland in his survey – are more likely to possess infrastructure and accessibility variables that enable or encourage the nearby urban population to visit. For example, Mitchell's survey recorded that 70.2% of visitors to the West Auckland wineries were from nearby Auckland city, while Central Otago and Marlborough – which are far more distant from major urban areas in the South Island – only received 17.1% from Dunedin and 23.1% from Christchurch respectively. Longo (1999 quoted in Hall et al. 2000: 165) conducted in-depth, interview-based study (n = 103) of tourists in Marlborough, Hawke's Bay and Waipara (Canterbury) and noted that international tourists were more likely to visit Marlborough due to its reputation for producing world-renowned Sauvignon Blanc and its strategic positioning on one of New Zealand's most popular travel route.

Appendix (B): John Martin

Throughout John Martin's adult life he clearly craved recognition and elite status, especially from the colonial leaders in politics, economic and in high society. For example, in 1863 Martin was elected to Wellington's Town Board, but his appointment only lasted a year. Martin apparently "had an Irish temper, and was plainly not the type of man for public life. With all his shrewd horse sense and undoubted ability he lacked the urbanity necessary to work harmoniously with men of different temperament" (McIntyre 2002: 98). Martin's attempt to re-enter public life two years later was spectacularly unsuccessful – he polled second to last of 19 candidates seeking election to the Wellington Provincial Council. Nevertheless Martin fulfilled his country squire aspirations when in 1869 he purchased the Otaraia Station in the Wairarapa. In 1875 he was made a Justice of the Peace and three years later was appointed to the Legislative Council by George Grey the Premier.

During this time Martin had endeared himself to the people of Wellington and the Wairarapa through various acts of generosity, which also assisted him to "gain acceptance by the provincial elite" (McIntyre 2002: 102). One of Martin's most audacious acts occurred at the opening of a drinking fountain he had commissioned at the corner of Lambton Quay and Hunter Street in Wellington. At the opening the fountain's water was "liberally mixed with whiskey bought from the Central Hotel" (McIntyre 2002: 102) and guests were invited to imbibe.

Martin's quest for elite social status was, however, often punctuated with rejection and hostility. For example, the editor of the New Zealand Times was "greatly offended... [that a] man of working class origin had been invited to join the august ranks of the Legislative Council... It is not easy to treat this strange Ministerial freak seriously. Surely the Premier and his colleagues must have been indulging in a little practical joking... If Her Majesty's Ministers have not been jesting, they have bungled sadly" (McIntyre 2002: 104-105).

Although clearly desirous of acceptance by the social elite, Martin had nevertheless earned a reputation for "a quick temper and antagonism towards men of genteel background" (McIntyre 2002: 98). In fact Martin sometimes managed to successfully combine his dislike of the social elite with his business dealings. For example, in 1865 he approached the Wellington Club, the city's most prominent gentlemen's club, and offered to sell them their premises, which he owned freehold. Martin had been rejected Club membership due to his lack of "necessary breeding" (McIntyre 2002: 98). The club rejected the offer and instead demanded that Martin immediately affect repairs to the building. Martin, however, did nothing and in 1866 he refused to extend the club's lease forcing them to purchase the property for £2,200. Five years later Martin then "sent shock waves through the Wairarapa" (McIntyre 2002: 100) when he outbid Daniel Riddiford to purchase 24,787 acres of Te Awaite Station, which the Government had put up for auction at 5s an acre. Riddiford was holder of the original pastoral licence and it was widely assumed that he would be the only bidder, especially as the block of land was in the centre of Te Awaite Station. A year later Martin sold the land to Riddiford for £500 more than he had paid and "chuckled for days at his swift stroke" (McIntyre 2002: 100):

“Once again, Martin had put one across a member of the early established provincial elite. There would be no respite from John Martin until he was accepted as one of their number. Now that he had made his fortune, his prestige could be enhanced only by entering politics and/or by buying up country land, after the manner of the aristocracy and gentry of England” (McIntyre 2002: 101).

Appendix (C): Wine Tourists – reflexive sociality

When tourists visited Martinborough they often travelled in the company of intentionally selected others. Respondents to a 2001 survey (n = 156) typically recorded that they travelled in the ‘company of friends’ as opposed to ‘family’:

- 59% - *in the company of ‘friends only’*;
- 28% - *with ‘family’ only*;
- 11% - *with both “family and friends*;
- 2% - *travelling alone*.

Unfortunately respondents were not asked to identify the type of ‘friends’ – romantic, platonic etc – that they were travelling with, nor what types of relationships were considered ‘family’ (e.g. genetic, marriage, living together, dependent offspring etc). Instead respondents described their own relationships, although with prompting from the researcher about whether in company of “family, friends or other”. So it is possible, for example, that some who answered ‘friends’ could have been sexually intimate, unmarried couples who were not living together; similarly those who stated ‘family’ could have included either dependent live-at-home or independent children.

Nevertheless, it was apparent from my observations working in the Martinborough Information Centre, Ata Rangi’s wine shop and from other contexts such as Toast Martinborough, that the majority of tourists holidayed in the company of people they regarded as intimate others – mostly friends or romantic lovers (see Abramovici 2002) as opposed to family members. Tourists’ perceived of friends and lovers as autonomous adults who had chosen to enjoy each others’ company, whilst family typically included dependent children who were in many respects were compelled to attend.

Indeed 73 or 47% of respondents (n = 156) stated that they had dependent live-at-home children aged 16 years or younger and of these 85% of males (n = 39) and 79 % of females (n = 34) visited Martinborough without their children (though the small sample size means results are only indicative). Abramovici’s survey (2002: n=120) – conducted at four Martinborough vineyards in December 2001 – reported a similar result with 34% or 41 respondents stating they had children at home and nearly 80% or 32 of these touring without their children¹⁴⁷:

¹⁴⁷ Moreover, 23% (28) were couples with no children and 21% (25) were couples with independent children. Although only 31% (37) actually reported travelling as a couple; 43% (51) with family or friends, and 25% (30) with business associates.

“Practically all independent travellers appeared to be arriving as couples, this reflects the fact some couples were arriving in separate cars but were touring the vineyards together... Among those who had children, practically 80% did not bring their children with them. This information was checked by the participant observation technique which emphasised mainly couples seen wandering around the vineyard, tasting wine... [they] were observed to spend up to several hours at the vineyards, lingering, talking in low voices, sharing time together” (2002: 60).

A survey of Martinborough’s homestay operators (n = 24) recorded a similar, albeit lesser, bias. Although it is important to note the group dynamics of Martinborough’s tourists largely reflected the household configurations of Wellington recorded in the 2001 Census where nearly 38% (23,455) were parent–children compositions, while the rest were predominantly couples, one–person households, and flatting situations (Statistics NZ 2001).

Homestay Operator Survey (2000 : n =24)	Accommodation nights booked (% : number of nights)
Total Nights	100% : 463
Couples	61% : 283
Male – Female Couples	58% : 268
Female – Female Couples	2% : 10
Male – Male Couples	1% : 5
Family Groups Total (i.e. children under age of 16 years)	33% : 153
2 adults + 1 child	2% : 10
2 adults + 2 children	18% : 79
4 adults + 2 children	4% : 18
3 adults + 2 children	3% : 15
Corporate, business or single guests	6% : 30

Appendix (D): Reasons for holidaying in Martinborough (n = 156)

(1) Reasons for Martinborough visit:

I surveyed tourists and asked why they had visited Martinborough and what three things they had most enjoyed or disliked during their vacation.¹⁴⁸

(1) Why had visited Martinborough:

- 63% - *to visit vineyards and sample local wines;*
- 55% - *to enjoy a vacation / 'time out' from their everyday life;*
- 34% - *to enjoy the rural scenery or benefit from getting away from the city/urban environment;*
- 32% - *to enjoy the company of friends or family.*

(2) What they most liked about Martinborough:

- 68% - *had most enjoyed visiting the vineyards and wineries;*
- 61% - *liked the rural scenery and relaxed way of life;*
- 42% - *were keen on the cafés, restaurants and gourmet food stores;*
- 23% - *had enjoyed the good weather*¹⁴⁹;
- 17% - *enjoyed shopping in the local shops;*
- 9.0% - *had appreciated meeting friendly 'local people' or the hospitality shown.*

(3) What they most disliked about Martinborough:

- 19% - *complained about the high cost of wines, dining out, retail goods or accommodation;*
- 15% - *thought that the service in restaurants, cafés etc was not up to the 'standards' typically encountered in Wellington;*
- 11% - *complained that vineyards they had hoped to visit were not open;*
- 5.0% - *thought Martinborough need additional tourism activities, especially for younger tourists (i.e. a swimming pool with water-slides, mini-golf, youth hostel etc).*

¹⁴⁸ Tourists were asked to list the three most important reasons for their visit to Martinborough. This accounts for the greater than 100% of total responses in some categories.

¹⁴⁹ This was an interesting response as many Wellington-based tourists did not venture over to the South Wairarapa until they had confirmed that the weather was 'good' in Martinborough.

Appendix (E): European idyllic foundations

The tourists' widely shared notions of a vernacular rural idyll, although distinctive in that they specifically celebrated a progressively productive rurality, nevertheless resonated with a bucolic idealisation that can be traced to the development of landscape art and picturesque movements in Europe initiated long before the comprehensive settlement of New Zealand by European settlers (1840's onwards)¹⁵⁰.

Landscape painting emerged during the 15th century in Dutch Flanders and Upper Italy. This promoted a new and seemingly detached mode of seeing that sought to objectively capture the natural world. Spatial control over landscape imagery was achieved using the technique of linear or single point perspective, which represented three-dimensional space on a flat surface by deploying observations that faraway objects appear to shrink in size and that parallel lines or planes converge to infinitely distant vanishing points as they recede in space from the viewer. In landscape painting the viewer represented was the artist and their wealthy patrons, who significantly influenced the type of landscape perspectives adopted:

"Landscape is not merely the world we see, it is a construction, a composition of that world. Landscape is a way of seeing the world... [it] is an ideological concept. It represents a way in which certain classes of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature, and through which they have underlined and communicated their own social role and that of others to external nature" (Cosgrove 1998: 13 & 15).

Landscape art purposefully celebrated the divinely ordained power of the urban elite and depicted the lives of rural peasantry as infinitely inferior. The peasantry were not portrayed in their everyday life settings, but rather as "beasts of labour and objects of ridicule in poetry or farce... shown 'at their games'... [which] serves the purpose of reflecting back to the powerful viewer, at ease in his villa, the image of a controlled and well ordered, productive and relaxed world wherein serious matters are laid aside" (Cosgrove 1998: 24).

The metropolitan elite were typically portrayed hawking, hunting or riding on horseback, emphasising that the countryside was as much a playground for the powerful as it was the economic base for city life and much commercial trade:

"The city is [perceived as] the theatre of reason and harmony... [there is] an urbanisation of the countryside – an extension of urban authority by means of the principles of reason and proportion developed in the city... In effect the city theorists had little to say about the countryside as such. Like most humanists and urban dwellers they were content with

¹⁵⁰ In 1840 when Maori and European notables signed the initial Treaty of Waitangi, the planned European settlement of New Zealand led by the New Zealand Company commenced in earnest when the company's survey ship *Cuba* and the first emigrant ship *Aurora* arrived in Port Nicholson, Wellington. In the half century from 1831, the European population of New Zealand increased by 50,000 per cent, that is from less than a thousand people to a half a million, and during this time approximately three-fifths of New Zealand's 1840's forests were cleared to make way for new grasslands.

disparaging truisms such as the claim that the city produces good men, the villa good beasts” (Cosgrove 1998: 97–98).

Renaissance landscape aesthetics and associated social ethics were increasingly employed in English poetry, drama and painting. By the 18th century, however, the iconography was no longer of generalised views over distant lands, but rather focused on the country house, surrounding estate lands and their natural, yet picturesque, prospects:

“The estate painting encapsulates the landscape way of seeing in which painting, language and nature become transferable one with another in their subordination to the ‘lordship’ of the eye. Looking from the vantage point over an actual prospect the writer or painter ‘composes’ it by arranging hills and dales, open champaigns [i.e. wide expanse of open countryside] and woodlands, light and shade, so that perspective nature takes on the illusion of a picture, itself an illusion of nature constructed for the disassociated observer” (Cosgrove 1998: 194).

In the 18th century the picturesque movement gained popular credence and landscaping practices favoured more “pure landscape... [that sometimes required] whole hills to be levelled (or raised), lakes dug and mountains of manure carted to the estate” (Schama 1996: 540). The picturesque aesthetic was closely aligned with the neo-romantic movement championed by luminaries such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) and was thus, in part, a reaction against the industrialisation of Europe and a lament for the loss of traditional pastoral existence. These beliefs created an intellectual climate where an appreciation of the natural landscape was aligned with the social virtues inherent in a simpler way of life as exemplified by the romanticised ‘noble savages’ of indigenous American Indians and the newly discovered inhabitants of the South Pacific Islands.

Rousseau’s ideas were widely disseminated amongst the burgeoning middle-classes and together with the works of painters such as Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594–1665) helped shaped a desire for natural, picturesque landscapes and for associated idyllic forms of social life (Cosgrove 1998; Inglis 1990; Olwig 1993; Withey 1997; Schama 1996). For example, areas such as the Lake District in England, with its quaint villages, serene lakes, rolling hills and “charmingly unlettered people” (Withey 1997: 48), began to appeal to travellers and inspired a plethora of guidebooks that mapped out specific routes and detailed viewpoints,¹⁵¹ recommending that “trees be trimmed in forested areas and steps cut into rocky paths to provide better views and rest stops for weary walkers” (Withey 1997: 49). That these landscapes often cosseted poverty and deprivation for the permanent inhabitants of the rural was often lost upon the urban travellers. In both pictorial and textual representations the rural peasantry were effectively regarded as an integral part of the naturalistic environment, remnants of a lost Golden Age of virtuous simplicity and

¹⁵¹ Purveyors of the picturesque were urged to carry a small convex mirror mounted on a piece of black felt, known as a ‘Claude-glass’ after the master French landscape painter Claude Lorrain (1600–1682). To use a Claude-glass, one faced away from the view to catch the reflection of the scene, a technique that supposedly sharpened the image and softened the colours.

harmony. By definition picturesque landscapes were non-threatening and human in scale, indeed the addition of a few people or part of a village added to the rustic appeal.

By the mid 19th century the emergent middle classes in England greatly desired to emulate the aesthetics and leisure dispositions of the social elite, especially the rural aristocracy and urban gentry with country houses. This was, in part, reflected in their establishment of suburban gardens that imitated both the ordered, yet naturalistic, ethos of the rural picturesque and more formal, geometric Virgilian-inspired landscapes. Albeit on considerably smaller parcels of land, eclectic juxtapositions of green expanses, neatly mown lawns, borders of flowers, trees and bushes, meandering cobblestone pathways, fishponds, fountains, formal flower beds, garden benches, gazebos and the secondary or subtle use of miniature classical Greek statues, were deployed to create the residential, suburban picturesque landscape. Short argues that Queen Victoria (1819-1901) and the British Royals were key figures in establishing and reinforcing the “country ethic” (1991: 74) through what he terms “Balmorality” (1991: 74):

“Balmoral became a Disneyland for the monarchy, a place of make believe, a never-never land, a tartinized Scotland emptied by clearances... The country had become a playground” (1991: 74).

The romantic gaze of the tourist

The popularity of picturesque and sublime^{152/153} landscapes was also influential in the development of sight-seeing holidays from the late 18th century onwards. From the pleasure-indulgent leisure of the Imperial Roman elite through to the 13th century pilgrimages and the 17th century scholastic Grand Tours by the sons of Europe’s aristocracy, tourism gradually shifted toward privileging “eye witness observation” (Urry 1990: 4). Together with the emergence of health discourses that championed periodic leisure for all classes and the rise of package-tourism and designated holiday sites, periodic scenic holidaying or sight-seeing came to dominate the rapidly expanding tourism industry throughout the 19th and 20th centuries (Alder 1989; Lofgren 1999; Urry 1990; Withey 1997).

¹⁵² Wild or feral nature-scapes remained largely forbidden or hidden from 18th century eyes. Described as sublime, such landscapes were characterised by their natural roughness, vastness, power and solitude. As forests and open landscapes diminished in the face of urban expansion and due to the popularity of romantic, wild landscapes by artists such as Salvator Rosa (Italian, 1615– 1673), the sublime lost its connotation of horror. Mountains, waterfalls and vast, deep forests once feared throughout Europe became sites of highly esteemed (sometimes sacred) wilderness and even estate gardens began to be designed on the principles of Edmund Burke (British statesman and political theorist, 1729– 1797), who was “the godfather of the aesthetic of awfulness, [and who] insisted that anything that threatened self-preservation was a source of the sublime” (Schama 1996: 542). For example, gardens and parks included trees that were carved to appear as though if they had been struck by lightning; artificial thunderstorm machines; hanging rock faces; cliffs; forest grottos; tunnels and caverns; and even hermits. This movement represented the taming of the rude, primitive arcadia – the “dark grove of desire... a labyrinth of madness and death” (Schama 1996: 522).

¹⁵³ Current use of the various terms used to describe the landscape – picturesque, beautiful, romantic and sublime – are less precise and more interchangeable (Schama 1996; Withey 1997). As Withey (1997) notes in tourism the precise distinction between the picturesque and sublime quickly became blurred, which is a characteristic of tourism in that it is “prefiguratively postmodern because of its particular combination of the visual, the aesthetic, and the popular” (Urry 1990: 87).

Amongst the gazes typically employed by emerging middle class tourists was the “romantic gaze”¹⁵⁴ (Urry 1990: 86), which is “concerned with elitist – and solitary – appreciation of magnificent scenery” (Urry 1990: 86) and thus can be directly linked with the 18th century admiration of the picturesque and sublime. The romantic gaze is possibly most typical of the intellectual middle-classes of France (Bourdieu 1984) and Britain (Urry 1990) as it requires a conflation of literary knowledge and aesthetic sensibilities, “especially if particular physical objects signify specific literary texts” (Urry 1990: 86). For example, the bourgeois or affluent middle class in France prefer to gaze upon the type of “organised signposted nature” (Bourdieu 1984: 220) that is linked both to the 15th century development of single-point, landscape painting and with the later 17th century’s evolution of the guided, Claude-glass adoration of the picturesque. In addition, many contemporary tourist clearly enjoy a fusion of “old and new, of the nostalgic and the futuristic, of the ‘natural’ and the ‘artificial’, of the youthful and mature, of high culture and of low” (Urry 1990: 90). Similarly many Martinborough tourists revelled in the façade of history and the novelty of new urbane technologies; admired the seemingly unchanging ‘*French tradition*’ of winemaking and innovations of New World winemakers; and desired communion with both the real and authentic (e.g. hand-made products) and the natural (e.g. wine) within a bucolic, picturesque and orderly setting. The romantic gaze employed by Martinborough’s tourists was primarily directed toward both the picturesque (e.g. the ‘*pretty, neat vineyards*’) and the sublime (e.g. the “majestic mountain valleys” and “shining braided rivers” of the Wairarapa – Wairarapa Times-Age, January 2004: 2; see Chapter 3).

Such gazes were not contemplative in the classical aesthetic sense (i.e. the philosophical appreciation of natural beauty and deciphering human or divine symbolism in the landscape). Firstly, an appreciation of untamed nature has not been restricted to an intellectual middle class in New Zealand. From the first throes of the organised and comprehensive European settlement of New Zealand, pioneers often displayed a respectful and sometimes awestruck appreciation of the wild, rugged lands that they fought hard to tame and cultivate (Belich 1996; Phillips 1996). Furthermore, in New Zealand’s short history of European occupation there is not the same extensive history of recorded human endeavour (in poetry, painting etc) as exists throughout Europe and is aligned with, or embedded within, either natural or cultivated landscapes. Correspondingly opportunities for intellectual schooling in, and contemplation of, such aesthetic configurations are limited. Indeed the romantic gaze deployed by Martinborough tourists was mostly exercised for the pleasure and distraction that a natural or idyllic rural scene may provide and as a pleasant, yet morally authenticating, setting for their urbane, hedonistic pursuits and associated displays of middle class distinction and ideal reflexive individualism.

New Zealand – the Better and Greater Britain

The 15th century also witnessed the birth of an agricultural revolution that swept throughout Europe and later to the New World colonies in the 18th century. The revolution centred on the purposeful, innovative

¹⁵⁴ Urry (1990) identifies a number of other touristic gazes including the collective (where tourists essentially gaze upon each other), the historical (in museums, historical sites etc), on distinctly famous objects (e.g. the Eiffel Tower) etc.

and systematic management of farmland to increase yields to feed growing populations, stimulate commodity trade and realise greater profits. This was achieved via the creation of additional lands through the extensive clearance of woodlands, drainage of marshlands and the reclamation of wastelands, and through more intensive farming methods such as the use of the three-field fallow; nitrogen-rich rotational crops such as legumes; more efficient weeding; livestock manuring; increasing mechanisation of labour; optimal seed selection; regional crop specialisation; and a move away from primarily subsistence farming to surplus commodity production for market sale (Cosgrove 1998; Grigg 1992). The overall effect (notwithstanding contra-phenomena such as the Black Plague in 1665) was an increase in populations, in arable land and land productivity, and a decrease in the numbers employed in agriculture and eventually in rural compared to urban populations¹⁵⁵ (Grigg 1992). There was also a rapid expansion of the elite, landowning classes, clearly stimulated by the development of colonial mercantile activity (e.g. West Indian sugar plantations) and of large urban, domestic markets that increasingly demanded high-value products such as meat and cheese (Cosgrove 1998). These factors combined to effectively squeeze out the rural peasantry and compel their movement into the metropolitan factories of Europe.

The vernacular, New Zealand rural idyll constructed by 19th century European settlers principally drew upon yeomen-like notions of a picturesque and a socially harmonious “Better Britain” (Belich 1996: 300) and on their converse of a technologically, economically and politically progressive “Greater Britain” (Belich 1996: 302), which championed free-enterprise, meritorious individual advancement and corporate (both private enterprise and governmental) development of market-commodity economics. Thus most European settlers already possessed attitudes that affirmed an essential “malleability of the world”¹⁵⁶ (Boorstin – quoted in Grey 1994: 16).

¹⁵⁵ In Western Europe, North America and Australasia the population rose from 25million in 1000AD to 110 million in 1800; in England the average wheat yield per hectare was approximately 670– 800kg in the 13th – 15th centuries. By 1800 this had increased to 1340 – 1410 kg and by 1850 to 1880 kg. In Great Britain in the 1720’s approximately 50% of the population were engaged in agriculture. Before the First World War this had fallen to less than 10%; up until the 18th century the fertility of rural populations in Europe was higher than urban. However, in the mid 18th century this situation began to reverse. The outflow from rural areas equalled or exceeded the natural population increase; the agricultural labour force began to stagnate or decline; and there was a great increase in urban employment. Moreover, many small landowners in England (mainly prior to 1820), Denmark and Sweden had been forced off their farms by enforced enclosures. Nowadays in the world’s most developed regions approximately 25% of the population is rural based and by 2030 it is predicted that 5.2 billion of the world’s total population will be urban – compared with 3.3 billion rural. In New Zealand in 1881 nearly 60% of the population lived in rural areas. By 2001 that number had decreased to 14%, with 86% living in towns and/or cities (Grigg 1992; NZ Census 2001; United Nations Publications 1997).

¹⁵⁶ This perspective clashed with that of Maori, who through hunting, burning, clearing and cultivating had changed large areas of forest into grassland and despite using many farming methods that would have found accord with Europeans (e.g. terraced gardens), had an economy that was primarily subsistence based land-use that was often seasonal, and who possessed many ancestral and kin-based land values:

“In New Zealand the settlers’ modernist attitudes seemed to give excuse to the dispossession of the Polynesian inhabitants... To the incoming British settlers such land appeared empty and unused and therefore available for a ‘superior use’. In their minds they had every justification for purchasing or otherwise appropriating land. Ironically it was not the ‘Unused’ land they often sought first but land already plainly occupied and cultivated by Maori people” (Grey 1994: 20).

“Coming from a land that for a hundred years had itself undergone continuing social, economic, and geographical turmoil and enjoying the fruits of the technical revolution that sparked this change, the people who came to New Zealand were inured to and even delighted in change. They had a greatly modified view of their relationship to the natural world, seeing it as an instrument for achieving their desires” (Grey 1994: 16).

The European settlement of New Zealand was foremost a calculated, rational “business proposition” (McAloon 2002: 52), founded on the ideal principles of a progressive, free-enterprise meritocracy. New Zealand was idealised and promoted to prospective settlers as a “latent paradise, waiting to be fulfilled... [there] was a concept of a new Britain-in-waiting, which had to be brought to fruition by Old Britons” (Belich 1996: 300-301). Their plan “was to swiftly and thickly seed New Zealand with British people and money” (Belich 1996: 279). Although Martinborough’s establishment is relatively late¹⁵⁷ in the colonial history of New Zealand, like the earlier settlements of Greytown (1854), Masterton (1854), Featherston (1857) and much of the rest of New Zealand it nevertheless replicated the imperial, commercial, and utopian aspirations of New Zealand’s European settlers.¹⁵⁸ This involved the idealistic reproduction of British society, complete with market, free-enterprise orientated economics and governmental (provincial and colonial) politics:

“New Zealand is ‘destined to become the Great Britain of the southern hemisphere’ or ‘the Great Britain of the Pacific’” (Belich 1996: 299).

This meant displacing, harnessing and transforming the uncultivated wilderness of New Zealand (including its native inhabitants) into profitable farms, civilised settlements and progressive industrial business. The promoters of settlement, especially the founder of the New Zealand Company, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, were motivated to create both a Better Britain and a Greater Britain using a better stock¹⁵⁹ of immigrants than the convicts forcibly exiled to Australia. While Better Britain chiefly promoted an Arcadian return to an idealised Golden Age of English pastoral society, Greater Britain

¹⁵⁷ Before the first pint was pulled at the Martinborough Hotel the colonial settlement and conquest of New Zealand had advanced at a rapid pace. For example, in 1819 the first recorded grapevines were planted at Kerikeri by the Anglican Missionary, Samuel Marsden; in 1840 sheep dogs were imported from Scotland and England and 18 years later there were one million sheep in New Zealand; in 1862 the first telegraph line opened from Christchurch to Lyttelton and three years later Auckland streets were lit by gas; then in 1880 the School of Agriculture opened at Lincoln in Canterbury with 20 students and two years later the first shipment of frozen meat was sent to the U.K. on board the S.S. Dunedin; in the same year William Beetham Jnr planted one-eighth of an acre of grapes at his sheep station Brancepeth near Masterton (Belich 1996; Cooper 2002; King 2003; Statistics New Zealand 2001).

¹⁵⁸ The settlers’ exploitation of the natural and human resources they ‘discovered’ in New Zealand broadly follows the pattern of increasing populations, yields, technical inputs and intensive specialisation that characterised the agricultural revolution in Europe.

¹⁵⁹ The prime target of the settlement crusaders were ‘better stock’ persons like themselves – “genteel and respectable” (Belich 1996: 307) and ideally with some economic capital. However, those who were attracted to immigrate to New Zealand were those who either ‘hoped to rise or feared falling’ in terms of their British-based class status. Indeed gentry, artisans (New Zealand was presented as the ideal escape route for ‘competition crushed craftsmen’), poor gentlewomen (who often fulfilled the role of governesses), prospective brides, and/or simply the young, healthy and rural, generally subscribed to the notion that as respectable hard-working people they could aspire to social advancement both at individual and social levels (Belich 1996; King 2003; McAloon 2002; Phillips 1996).

envisaged neo-British progress. It was thus envisaged “that New Zealand’s future was so brilliant that it would ultimately not simply replicate but transcend Britain” (Belich 1996: 302-303). Moreover, the Better-Greater motif echoed the New Zealand Company’s promotional version of Arcadia and Utopia:

“The linchpin prophets emphasised the desire for freehold farm, the domain of the yeoman, as a major motive for emigration. Crusaders, early and late, aimed at country capitalists, countrymen and countrywomen. All waxed lyrical about the abundance of New Zealand nature and the regenerative effect of rural life... [yet] if New Zealand was arcadia, then it was to be achieved by very utopian means: collective action by state-like organisations (the companies) and by actual governments, provincial and colonial.” (1996: 305).

The productive picturesque in New Zealand

The first wave of European settlement and agricultural development of New Zealand was clearly dominated by the physical and social exigencies of breaking-in the country’s wilderness, accordingly little energy was devoted to leisure pursuits. This situation altered as farm estates became established and their owners, together with many of the second wave of settlers from the 1840’s onwards, aspired to emulate the archetypal English country squire (Bagnall 1976; Belich 1996; McAloon 2002; Nicholls 1990). Attention to landscape aesthetics, especially in terms of establishing home gardens that provided much-needed vegetables and the pleasant vistas of a typical English country garden, were first recorded at Kerikeri Mission estate (now know as Kemp House) built by Reverend Samuel Marsden in 1819. Aside from hops, turnips, carrots, radishes, potatoes, cabbages and other domestic vegetables, Marsden also planted grapes, oranges, lemons, sage, lavender, rosemary and flower gardens of marigolds, lilies, roses, and Pink and Sweet William¹⁶⁰ (Leach 1984).

Marsden’s garden fulfilled utilitarian needs and also sought to replicate the cottage garden aesthetic that was popular amongst the emergent middle and upper classes in Britain that strove emulate the picturesque estates of the aristocracy, albeit on much smaller suburban and farm settings (Schama 1996; Short 1991). Station homesteads, smaller farmsteads and middle/ upper-class houses in emerging city settlements of New Zealand also characteristically included home or kitchen gardens typically reproduced by settler women (Leach 1984; Raine 2000). Appreciation of a fusion of utilitarian, picturesque and the exotic (which incrementally included native trees and bushes) was thus widespread amongst settlers.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ By the time Charles Darwin visited Northland in 1835 the missionary houses in the area were characteristically surrounded by cottage flower gardens of roses, honey-suckles, jasmine, and sweet brier, in addition to freely growing exotic fruit trees (figs, olives, grapes, citrus) that were characteristically found in Mediterranean climes (e.g. French, Italian etc) of Europe, but which were increasingly desired, though required special care to grow, in England (Leach 1984).

¹⁶¹ Charlotte Godley, a pioneer woman of modest means, described her garden in Wellington in 1850 as “Really very pretty, only a little out of order, with sweet brier, honeysuckle, clove pinks, and white moss roses, and other English plants, scarcely yet out of flower, and overrun with fuchsias, which make hedges almost... It is, I suppose, rather characteristic, in an English colony, that the gardens here are full of English plants and trees... besides the acacias very few native things except one, very like an evergreen privet and a low bush, like yew but covered with berries. There are grapes too, figs, nut bushes, and one oak, about 8 feet high” (Godley 1951: 31 & 85).

Although colonists' gardens typically contained "nostalgic elements, they were seldom wholesale replicas of European gardens. Indeed a successful gardener [and farmer, industrialist etc] in New Zealand meant adapting to local conditions and actively engaging with the new challenges and opportunities"¹⁶² (Raine 2000: 93). The establishment of translocated English home gardens, often by immigrants who had not previously gardened, therefore not only morally reaffirmed the colonisation process, but through the domestication of space provided a sense of security and progressive adaptation in an alien landscape.

"A garden has always been an emblem of security for Europeans, a way of attempting to feel safe and at ease in nature. It is an artificial realm, the appeal of which is all the more powerful because it is made from elements of the real world, interweaving the idealised and the actual... As much as the physical nourishment and shelter provided by gardens, they needed to create for themselves a feeling of being at home in their new land... so strong was the urge to obtain the primal comfort of a familiar Eden... As they matured they came to prove a tangible and substantial security, in all its different guises as abundance, order, harmony, comfort, peace and pleasure" (Raine 2000: 92-93).

In comparison with the grand, aristocratic farms of 18th century England in which the picturesque elements were omnipresent to the farthest boundaries, the gardens created by New Zealand's settlers were, and still are, largely compartmentalised and positioned near to the domestic residence. This pattern is replicated in recent housing developments in Martinborough (see Chapter 4) and in most domestic, homestay and vineyard properties. Settler gardens had more in common with the 19th century cottage gardens of the southern counties of England, from where the majority of immigrants came (Arnold 1981). This selective compartmentalisation also reflects the uncompromising commercial or business rationale of farm establishment in which landscape aesthetics were considered secondary to the systematic economic exploitation of agricultural lands (Grey 1994; McAloon 2002). This ethos still dominates New Zealand agriculture and in Martinborough the commercial imperatives of the rural landscape often appeared to contradict the idyllic notions of the picturesque articulated by tourists and tourism promoters.

With the development of commercial market gardens, more reliable transport networks, increased retail outlets and the urbanisation of New Zealand society, the necessity of a kitchen garden gradually dissipated especially amongst urban individuals of all classes, consequently domestic gardens were transformed into flower gardens and lawns dedicated to the picturesque/ nature aesthetics and

¹⁶² Furthermore gardening, especially the establishment of 'kitchen gardens', was an activity engaged by women of all classes and the vegetables/fruits grown often significantly increased the incomes of lower socio-economic families by direct household consumption, barter, and/or sale (Leach 1984; Raine 2000). Gardening "demonstrated the general trend towards egalitarianism" (Raine 2000: 86) amongst colonial settlers in New Zealand in that the opportunity to create a domestic garden was open to pioneers of varied social status and economic means, but also a profound absence of hired help meant that many of the social elite (both men and women) were compelled to personally labour in their own gardens, domestic residences and farms (Belich 1996; King 2003; McAloon 2002; Raine 2000).

recreational activities (Leach 1984). In New Zealand, Britain, USA and Australia, such aesthetics were aligned with generalised notions of a beneficial and benign nature, a sensibility that additionally informed perceptions of natural landscapes ranging from the wilderness to botanical parks and rural landscapes (Schama 1996; Urry 1990, 1995). Urbanites are not, however, excluded from recognising and valuing the productivity of rural land. After all socio-economic success based on innovation, hard work etc are deeply embedded in the widespread idealisation of rural New Zealand (Belich 1996) and are likewise key canons of reflexive individualism and middle class distinction. There is little doubt, however, that when the rural land is devoted to the production of a refined or urbane product such as wine or olive oil, then associated rural settings are more likely to be cast by middle class urbanites as idyllic, picturesque and morally virtuous – especially compared with those devoted to other forms of primary agriculture (e.g. wheat, sheep or dairy farming) or with the suburban and industrial-scapes of the metropolitan.

Appendix (F): A Selective History of Wine

Wine, which can be made from about 40 grapevines in the botanical genus *Vitis vinifera* and whose natural territory is a band of temperate latitudes from the Persian shores of the Caspian Sea to Western Europe, has a rich past that reflects the varied histories of many Ancient and Old World cultures and their evolution into modern societies (Cooper 2002; Fuller 1996; Johnson 1998). Wine has been repeatedly classified as a drink ‘reserved’ for the socio-political elite (or at least the best wines are); is often divinely sanctioned; subjected to a systematic pursuit of quality; and has become an increasingly nuanced and performative marker of social distinction.

The documented history of intentional wine production dates back 5000 years ago to Mesopotamia, when the Sumerians depicted in the famous inlaid box known as the Standard of Ur (c. 2600 BC), a stylised, yet clearly recognizable pictogram of a grapevine leaf and of courtiers toasting their ruler with wine (Johnson 1998). Ancient Egyptians were to record in “almost overwhelming” (Johnson 1998: 29) detail their culture of wine in graphic tomb paintings depicting every aspect of the wine harvest, from grape-picking to fermentation through to wine storage, and especially how wine was consumed:

“Painting after painting expresses with brilliant vitality the pleasure they took in it. Scenes of feasting are sometimes serene, elegant, decorative, sometimes boisterous and licentious... Sometimes they drank from wine cups, sometimes through straws directly from wine jars... There is not much evidence of self-restraint in these feasting scenes: ladies are occasionally sick, although nobody is seen under the table or being carried out” (Johnson 1998: 33).

By 2470 BC the Egyptians recognised six different wine appellations, though it is not clear whether this referred to distinct wines or their place of origin. By the New Kingdom (1550 BC) the labelling of wine, however, clearly specified the year, vineyard, vineyard owner and the head vintner. During this time the leading vineyards were on the West River, the western arm of the Nile Delta, at Sile, Behbeit el-hagar,

Memphis and in the oases – all in Lower Egypt. Wine-growing in Upper Egypt was not attempted until 300BC and was inspired by the Greek Ptolemies, the last dynasty of Egypt (Johnson 1998: 34).

Traces of the legislation of the wine trade come from two of the earliest books on law, those of Hammurabi, Lord of Babylon from 1792-1750 BC, and of the Hittites who usurped him. Hammurabi's code infers that wine sellers were expected to be women and although fairly lenient in dealing with offenders in matters of trade nevertheless demonstrates the value of wine by noting the following exceptions for unscrupulous wine trading: "Three items relating to wine shops carry absurdly violent penalties: a little slip in accounting by the barmaid, and "they shall throw her in the water"... If outlaws hatch a conspiracy in the house of a wine seller, and she do not arrest these outlaws and bring them to the palace, that wine seller shall be put to death... If a priestess or nun who is not resident in a convent open a wine shop or enter a wine shop for a drink, they shall burn that woman" (Johnson 1998: 27). The Hittite code of laws also outlines compensation payments for when sheep wandered into vineyards and ate the grapes.

Besides the celebration of wines' intoxicating, socially lubricant effects; the designation of appellations; the recognition of differential quality characteristics; and the legislation of wine trade, Ancient Egyptians also associated wine with divinity, specifically with Osiris, the god of life after death and who was responsible for all plant life. Although he was addressed as "lord of the wine at flooding" (Johnson 1998: 34) or as "lord of carousing at the festival" (Johnson 1998: 34), and was later to be associated with Dionysus, the Greek wine god, there is little evidence he was held directly responsible for wine. Other gods were equally associated with wine, which was variously described as the sweat of Ra the sun god and as the tears of Horus, son of Osiris, and was also associated with the earth goddess Isis. Beer was the everyday drink and Egyptian vineyards were typically small, nevertheless wine's prestige is evident throughout the ritual offerings to gods and the dedication of vineyards to the gods.

Wine in ancient Greece and Rome

In 3000BC the forebears of the Greeks settled around the Aegean (in south and east-central Greece, Crete, the Cycladic Island and north-west coast of Asia Minor) and cultivated grapes and olives. When historian Thucydides wrote in late 5th century BC that the "peoples of the Mediterranean began to emerge from barbarism when they learnt to cultivate the olive and the vine" (Johnson 1998: 35), wine was an integral part of everyday Greek culture, religion and trade. In 404 BC more than 14,000 Greeks attended the annual Great Festival of Dionysus, the god of wine and giver of all good gifts, held in the Acropolis of Athens. At this festival followers consumed trimma (i.e. wine flavoured with herbs) and cheered male dancers dressed as satyrs with large leather phalluses and long horse tails (Johnson 1998: 47-48). Although all elements had a deity, Dionysus was said to offer spiritual vision and wild intoxication to his followers: "The Dionysian worshipper at the height of his ecstasy was at one with his god. Divinity had entered into him" (Guthrie quoted in Fuller 1996: 4). Wine was also a focal point of Greek social life. Indeed 'symposium' literally translates as drinking together, and wine was also lavishly praised by poets and philosophers.

Wine was also a significant trade commodity and was differentiated by quality. Winemakers on the island of Thasos produced a quality wine with a characteristic scent of apples, the Sporades islands were noted for bulk-produced wines, and Knidian and Rhodian wines from Rhodes were used for army rations. Wine had become a staple drink across many strata of society, often mixed with water (usually seawater) to stretch supplies, although spices and aromatics were added for formal or elaborate occasions and of course, the best wines remained the choice of the privileged (Fuller 1996; Johnson 1998).

The Romans adopted most of the religious pantheon of Greek mythology, although it was Jupiter, the great god of air, light and heat, rather than Bacchus (the Roman version of Dionysus) who was credited with bestowing the gift of wine (Fuller 1996: 9). As the Roman Empire flourished, so did the cultivation, trade, religion and society of wine. The greatest market for wine was Rome and consumption increased significantly as wine was produced in greater quantities, became cheaper, was sold in bustling bars and taverns and via wealthy citizens distributing free wine in the sponsorship of games. The city had a *porta vinaria*, a wine trade gate, for wine coming down the Tiber from Umbria and the Sabine Hills, and another on the side facing the sea and the port of Ostia. Near the height of the Roman Empire, Lucius Columella, a Spaniard from Cádiz, produced one of the first comprehensive and systematic accounts of viticulture in his farming manual *De Re Rustica* (On Country Matters) which was published in 65AD. Columella believed that this highly fashionable form of agriculture could be profitable, yet many were losing fortunes due their lack of technical knowledge concerning soil types, vineyard situations, pruning techniques etc (Johnson 1998: 68-69).

Monastic medieval influences

That viticulture survived in Europe, albeit precariously following the fall of the Roman Empire, the subsequent spread of Islamic religious-political authority and throughout the Dark Ages, was often due to Jewish and Christian groups for whom wine was a sacred substance.

Although Islamic beliefs forbade the consumption of wine it was still produced in Spain, Portugal, Lebanon, Cyprus, Crete and Algeria, mostly by traders who escaped religious-political sanction due to the influence of Arab physicians who regarded wine as their principal medicine – although such traders were nevertheless heavily taxed by Islamic rulers. Moreover, many of Islamic ruling elite took liberties in both drinking and selling wine:

“Even caliphs – the highest rank of ruler – showed an unseemly desire to anticipate Paradise by giving parties in gardens that closely resembled the Promised Land of the Koran: not running streams nor soft couches, nor houris, nor fruit nor wine were wanting” (Johnson 1998: 103).

The Christian Bible states that Noah was the first cultivator of grapes and maker of wine. Shortly after the Flood had receded, Noah became “the first tiller of the soil. He planted a vineyard; and he drank of the wine, and became drunk” (Gen. 9:20 – quoted in Fuller 1996: 7). Throughout the Old Testament,

wine is depicted as a sign of God's blessing and was especially commended for its ability to alter moods and "gladden the heart" (Fuller 1996: 7). In the Christian Eucharist or Holy Communion, a sacrament still celebrated and which commemorates Christ's Last Supper, the drinking of consecrated wine by worshippers symbolises the consumption of Christ's blood and actual participation in the Sacrifice of Christ (Fuller 1996; Johnson 1998). Furthermore, wine is venerated as an integral part of both religious and family celebrations in Jewish culture.

Winemaking was practiced throughout the Medieval period in Christian monasteries, as much for providing sacramental wine as for the health of the brethren. The motto of the Italian St Benedict, founder of Monte Cassino and the Benedictine Order in 529 AD, "summa quies" (utter peace) was reflected in his writings on wine recorded in the Rule, which codified the discipline of the Benedictine Order:

"Every man hath his proper gift from God... It is therefore with some misgiving that we determine how much others should eat and drink. Nevertheless, keeping in view the needs of weaker brethren we believe that a hermina (about half a pint) of wine a day is sufficient for each" (Johnson 1998: 111).

By the 11th century, when many in Northern Europe began to enjoy comparative peace, prosperity and dramatic population growth, the demand for wine grew exponentially along with the freedom of travel and a general surplus of marketable goods. The planting of tens of thousands of hectares of new vineyards around towns and abbeys was largely monastery led (especially in Germany), although the system of "complant" (Johnson 1998: 116) whereby a free labourer would cultivate uncleared land owned by a noble in return for share of either the crop or the land itself, also significantly contributed. The Cistercian monks, whose Christian order was founded in 1112 AD by the ascetic Robert de Molesmes in the Saone Valley in Burgundy, South France, can rightly lay claim to raising "agricultural labour to an art form" (Johnson 1998: 130). At this time the vineyards of Burgundy were principally supplying the local market with claret made from Noirien grapes, and the wine had fallen out of favour with the fashionable elite of the northern France.

Systematic pursuit of quality wine

Until this moment wines had been chiefly identifiable by the region from which they were sourced (e.g. Bordeaux, Burgundy, Alsace etc) and little mention was made of the grape variety or other distinguishing characteristics. A methodical approach to wine production was endorsed by Dom Pierre Perignon, a Benedictine monk from the Abbey at Hautvillers in Champagne, France, a region which had long been acknowledged in Paris as producing wines of exceptional quality.. Dom Perignon was appointed treasurer of Hautvillers in 1668, at the age of 29. The Abbey was recovering from the Thirty Years War and occupation by mercenaries up to 1659. Although the Abbey only owned 25 acres of vineyards, it received tithes of grapes from surrounding villages and in 1661 they built a large vaulted cellar.

The first success of Dom Perignon was to organise harvesting to produce a truly white wine. He also studied the best vineyards, techniques, timings and ways of preserving wine to make it as “aromatic as possible, silky in texture and long in flavour” (Johnson 1998: 212). Dom Perignon established the golden rules of winemaking in Champagne – set out in 1718 (three years after his death) by his Canon Godinot. These were: (1) Use only Pinot Noir. He did not approve of white grapes as they increased the latent tendency in the wine to re-ferment; (2) Prune the vines hard so they grow no higher than three feet and produce a small crop; (3) When harvesting ensure grapes are kept intact and on their stalks. Reject any grapes bruised or broken. Keep grapes as cool as possible by working early in the morning or on showery days in hot weather. Lay out grapes on wicker trays and discard rotten grapes, leaves and so on. Keep grapes as fresh as possible by having a press house close by. If they have to be transported by animals, mules are best as they are less excitable than horses; (4) Never tread the grapes or allow a maceration (i.e. soaking) of the skins in the juice. An efficient and fast-working press is therefore essential and the juice of each pressing should be kept separate. The first press – the “*vin de goutte*” – occurs with the mere weight of laying on the wooden beams and its wine is too delicate and lacks body. The next two pressings are of good quality, while the fourth is rarely acceptable (Johnson 1998: 212-213):

“All reports agree that Dom Perignon studied his raw materials with the minutest care. It is true that he tasted his grapes. It was his habit to pick them in the evening and leave them all night by his open window before tasting them in the morning. Perhaps a very slight concentration of flavour took place overnight... It was his discovery that carefully judged proportions of grapes from a number of different vineyards, according to their ripeness and the distinctive flavours derived from their soil, made a better and more consistent wine than lots pressed individually” (Johnson 1998: 217).

Vineyard specific, singular and conspicuous wines

Until the 17th century, and in spite of the innovations of the Cisterian monks and Dom Perignon, wine throughout Europe was principally traded as a simple bulk commodity transported and stored in large barrels, blended together from various vineyards and sold under grape or regional designations. Accordingly, the freshest, especially sweet (e.g. Tokay) or fortified e.g. Madeira) wines were highly prized as they were less likely to have spoiled due to oxidation, or for their preservative capacities. In the 17th century another series of innovations, including the custom of naming individual vineyards and selling wine in singular bottles or glass in restaurants and taverns (see Chapter 5), further differentiated quality and propelled wine toward becoming a nuanced and performative marker of social distinction.

About 100 years prior to this revolution in wine production and consumption the French Huguenots, in search of freedom to pursue their Protestant faith, settled in Florida (and subsequently Rhode Island, Virginia, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania) in North America and immediately utilised their winemaking expertise to produce wine from the native Scuppernong grapes. Similarly the first permanent English settlement in Jamestown in 1607 was growing grapes two years later and the Pilgrims possibly made wine to celebrate their first Thanksgiving in 1623 (Fuller 1996; Johnson 1998):

“From the outset, then, wine had much to do with sustaining the strong spirit with which the early colonists settled the new frontiers of American civilization. Both agnostic entrepreneurs and believers of various traditions viewed wine as a reminder of the finer things they nostalgically associated with European culture” (Fuller 1996).

The native grapes, however were of the species *labrusca*, and although resistant to the phylloxera disease that was to decimate European plantings in the 19th century, lacked the subtle flavours associated with the best French, Italian and German wines. Consequently most of the wine consumed by Americans during the formative colonial period was imported and thus expensive, especially Madeira, which was being regularly exported to the Americas by the late 17th century. Indeed in the 18th century twenty times more spirits (rum etc) and cider was consumed by America’s middle and working classes (Fuller 1996: 15). From the beginning of New World colonisation, wine was most often associated with and highly valued by the upper social classes, many of whom were either deistic or agnostic in belief. Benjamin Franklin once contemplated that the religion of reason should embrace wine as a “theological conduit through which God’s wisdom is revealed to us” (Fuller 1996: 17):

“In vino veritas, say the wise men, - Truth is in wine. Before the days of Noah, then, men having nothing but water to drink, could not discover the truth. Thus they went astray. Became abominably wicked, and were justly exterminated by water, which they loved to drink. The good man Noah, seeing that through this pernicious beverage all his contemporaries had perished, took in aversion; and to quench his thirst God created the vine, and revealed to him the means of converting its fruit into wine” (Franklin quoted in Fuller 1996: 17).

Attempts to establish vineyards with European *vinifera* rootstock were, however, most successfully pursued by the Jesuits in California. In 1697 Father Juan Ugarte and a small group of Jesuit priests established a mission in the Baja region, immediately planting grapes so they would have a reliable supply for celebrating Holy Communion.¹⁶³ By 1760, five of fifteen Jesuit missions recorded wine production and in 1769 a new surge of mission-building led by the Franciscan order began in the Alta, or upper California. This subsequently shaped the history of wine production in the state until the middle of the 19th century (Fuller 1996; Johnson 1998):

“The canon law of the Catholic Church stipulates minimum standards for the quality of wine to be used at the altar. In actuality, these laws merely correspond to good winemaking practices... Having a bishop’s certificate that one’s wine was valid for celebrating the Eucharist became increasingly important as the years went and on commercial wine making began to develop in California... The gradual expansion of the mission trail along the California coast throughout the 1700’s and into the early 1800’s was thus necessarily accompanied by the gradual dissemination of grapevines and vinicultural expertise” (Fuller 1996: 25).

¹⁶³ The missionaries in the New World also planted wine for its medicinal value, their own enjoyment at the dinner table and to generate external revenues (Cooper 2002; Thorpy 1971).

The history of wine in New Zealand is similar. European wine grapevines were first introduced by missionaries in 1819 (Cooper 2002; Thorpy 1971) to provide sacramental wines and with the goal of ‘civilising’ the native Maori by teaching them the necessary methods of horticulture cultivation. While the first wines produced were palatable, the quantities were not sufficient for significant commercial supply; moreover the pioneer elite demanded higher quality. Therefore most wines consumed in the early colonial period were imported from France and were consequently very expensive.

Appendix (G): Martinborough appellation

Local winemakers have made several attempts to establish an appellation system to definitively classify a connection between the quality of Martinborough wines and their place of origin with respect to grape growth and wine production. The Martinborough Terrace Appellation of Origin System was launched in 1986 and ever since has “bitterly divided the wine community” (Cooper 2002: 176 – see also Mahn 1994; McIntyre 2002). Based primarily on studies undertaken by DSIR soil scientist and founder of Martinborough Vineyard, Dr Derek Milne, the appellation was designed to delineate, promote and certificate the authenticity of wines grown and produced within the renowned Martinborough Terraces. This area was defined as the northern part of Martinborough – a small area approximately 3 kilometres by 1 kilometre – “lying to the north-north-east of a straight line from trigometrical station 2A passing through trigometrical station east base, and bounded in other places by the main terrace scar” (Cooper 2002: 177).

To qualify for appellation certification vineyards also had to have less than 20% of claypans or other soil structure “impediments two metres below the surface to deep root penetration” (Cooper 2002: 177). The defined area had an average annual rainfall of less than 800 millimetres and the appellation clearly sought to demarcate an area of “well drained shallow friable strong loams” (Martinborough Winemakers’ Association 1986) on the Terraces. It also sought to distinguish this area from the big silt pans underlaid with clay-dense subsoils that lay to the south of the town (which are virtually impenetrable to vine roots and water) and from the moist, fertile river flats to the north-east where Alister Taylor first planted his vineyard in 1979. The appellation was so worded, however, to include all vineyards in the local low-rainfall area who produced good quality wine, comparable with that from the actual stony terrace, for five consecutive years: “At the end of the day, it’s not the theory that counts, it’s the performance” (Dr Derek Milne – quoted in McIntyre 2002: 267).

The founding members of the appellation organising committee were Chifney, Martinborough Vineyard, Dry River and Ata Rangi vineyards – who had a year prior set up the Martinborough Winemakers Association (later called Winemakers of Martinborough; now called Toast Martinborough). Wines that meet the defined origin of place criteria were eligible to carry a seal on their bottles confirming they were ‘100% Martinborough Wine’. In due course eight producers qualified – including Te Kairanga, Palliser Estate, Voss Estate and Winslow Estate.

Some winemakers complained, however, that the appellation was flawed as the designated area was an arbitrary line on the map that did not reflect that similar soil and climatic conditions were found elsewhere near Martinborough. Some complained that the soil definitions were simplistic, with many vineyards on the terraces having complex mosaics of stony soils, clay pans and so on. Moreover, many noted that Martinborough wines produced outside the small appellation area were not necessarily of any lesser quality. The late Willie Brown, founder of Muirlea Rise, which was not on the terrace despite being almost directly across the road from Martinborough Vineyard, described the appellation system as *“horseshit, it’s a farce, it’s a nonsense”* (Mahn 1994: 80). Support for the original appellation system began to wane in 1992 when Martinborough’s vintages were greatly reduced due to poor weather and many vineyards – including Martinborough Vineyard, Palliser Estate and Ata Rangi – were forced to bring in fruit from outside the district to supplement poor harvests. Indeed with the growing demand for Martinborough wines, many still continue to buy contract grapes from outside the district (mostly from Masterton, Gladstone or the Hawkes Bay) to maintain or increase their total wine production levels (pers. comm.).

Subsequently in 1998 a new Martinborough Wine ‘certified quality mark’ was introduced:

“The Martinborough region lends a valuable contribution to its wineries – the elements that deliver the soul of quality winemaking. They are simple things. A natural amphitheatre beneath a sun filled sky and clean air from the Southern Ocean. Alluvial river terraces fed with clear water off the Tararua Ranges in the west. Reliable dry autumns decrease the possibility of rain – diluted flavours, and cool windy periods in spring and early summer diminish flowering and produce lower cropping vines at harvest time. It is widely recognised that these low cropping levels and undiluted flavours create the essential ingredients of power and concentration from which fine, and even, great wines are produced” (Toast Martinborough 1998:1).

For a wine to carry this seal of authenticity 85 percent of its grapes had to be sourced from within a 10 kilometre radius from the Martinborough town square and it had to have *“been awarded a medal at a recognised wine show or assessed by independent and reputable international judges to be of medal standard”* (Toast Martinborough 1998: 8). Eleven wineries qualified and although they were granted a *“transitional period of three years...to attain the minimum 85 percent”* (Toast Martinborough 1998: 7) many of the larger vineyards such as Palliser Estate, Te Kairanga, Martinborough Vineyard and Ata Rangi were unable to meet this criterion (pers. comm.) The recent establishment of ‘third wave’ vineyards on Te Muna Rd to the east and Dyerville to the south – both areas a little over 10 kilometres from the town square, but often with similar soil types and rainfall as the famed Martinborough Terraces – has meant that many of these winemakers have felt excluded and consequently this appellation venture also proved to be short-lived (Cooper 2002; McIntyre 2002).

The main problem with Martinborough's appellation systems appears to be that few of the geographical, economic and social (i.e. taste/quality etc) variables that inform the commercial operation of Martinborough's vineyards correspond with neat parcels of land as may be drawn on a map. Indeed the entangled reproduction of life, place, people and grapes in Martinborough and elsewhere will always be invariably complex and fuzzy. Or as one winemaker told me:

'The trouble with the appellation system is that it's not just about soil types, climatic conditions or even the actual quality of wine produced. It is also about product branding, people's reputations, their egos and at the end of day it's all about money, selling your wine and being successful' (Martinborough winemaker).

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